IVTH CONGRESS OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN

Basic documents

HANOI 1974
VIET NAM WOMEN'S UNION

IVth CONGRESS

OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN

BASIC DOCUMENTS

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ROLE AND TASKS OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN IN THE NEW STAGE OF REVOLUTION

LÊ DUẨN
FIRST SECRETARY
OF THE VIETNAM WORKER'S PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Dear comrades and sisters,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, I warmly greet the Fourth National Congress of the Vietnamese Women's Union. Here are gathered sisters, mothers of combatants, heroines and model workers, the excellent representatives of millions of brave and capable women of all walks of life, of different ages, nationalities and religions throughout North Viet Nam. These women have performed great, heroic exploits, and splendidly fulfilled the obligations of the great rear, thus contributing to the victory of our entire people in the sacred resistance for the defence of our Fatherland.

Your Congress vividly reflects the extremely broad women's movement on the fronts of production and fighting, in all fields of economic and cultural activity in the socialist North, marks the vigorous and splendid rise of Vietnamese women, and is an important landmark in the development of the women's movement in the new stage of our revolution.

I warmly greet the delegation of the South Vietnamese women headed by comrade Nguyen Thi Dinh, President of the South Viet Nam Liberation

Women's Union and Deputy-Commander of the People's Liberation Armed Forces, whose presence here conveys the image of our kith-and-kin South, of the heroic South Vietnamese women who, for the sake of national independence, freedom and reunification, for the life and happiness of the entire people, of women and children in the whole country, struggled for decades, endured untold sacrifices and hardships, undergone countless trials and recorded resounding feats of arms, further enriching the tradition of Vietnamese women.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation, the delegations of the women of the fraternal socialist countries and the delegations of the women's movements of other countries struggling for peace, freedom, justice and social progress. Your presence at this Congress, comrades and friends. embodies the lofty internationalist solidarity and the close ties between the Vietnamese people and the world peoples, between the Vietnamese women's movement and the world women's movement. The Vietnamese people and women will never forget the heartfelt sentiments shown them by the women of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries, and the progressive women in all continents who have sympathized with and supported the Vietnamese people's just struggle in multifarious forms, ranging from political actions condemning US imperialist aggression to shipments of goods, gifts to the Vietnamese women and children. Your strong support in the past as well as in the future,

constitute a source of strength, a powerful inspiration to the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause.

Dear comrades,

Our people have just gone through extremely critical yet very glorious months and years which will be vividly remembered in the history of our nation. For nearly 20 years, after the great victory of the resistance to the French colonialists, our people have waged another life-and-death struggle against US imperialism, the chieftain of imperialism, the number one enemy of mankind. In this confrontation, in the spirit of "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", the entire Vietnamese people, from the front to the rear, in both the South and the North, without distinction as to age and sex, have risen up as one man, ready to accept all hardships and sacrifices, and have devoted all their forces and capacities to the cause of national liberation and defence of the Fatherland. We have foiled the biggest and most brutal war of aggression ever conducted in the history of the US imperialists, compelling them to withdraw their troops and recognize the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country. We have preserved and increased the forces of the North in all respects under a rain of millions of enemy bombs and shells, and continued to take the North steadily forward on the path of socialism. Our struggle has made a worthy contribution to the common struggle

of the world working class and peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To this great cause, the Vietnamese women have made a considerable contribution, worthy of admiration and pride. Ardent patriotism and undauntedness have for thousands of years been a prominent tradition of Vietnamese women, ever since our ancestors began founding our nation. This precious tradition, nurtured and promoted by our Party and our beloved Ho Chi Minh, found its fullest and most brilliant expression in the period of anti-US struggle for national salvation.

As the saying goes, "When the aggressors come even women should take up arms." That is perfectly true! To defend our Fatherland against the US imperialists, the Vietnamese women took up arms to directly participate in the fighting and have become dauntless combatants, heroines, valiant fighters and outstanding military commanders.

In the epic tableau of the people's war in the North, our women are ever present, intrepid and undaunted daughters of the country who stoutheartedly fought to the end to defend the country and their dear ones. Numerous militia-women units, all-women anti-aircraft platoons more than once brought down US aircraft, captured US pilots, set US warships afire, bravely protecting their native villages. Tens of thousands of girls, trudging day and night on all the roads of the country and defying enemy fire, de-activated time-bombs, repaired bridges and roads and kept communications open in the service of the front. Hosts of wives and

mothers imbued with love of their country and their homes encouraged and exhorted their husbands and sons to go to the front. How many others gave their dearest ones to the Fatherland! With the "three responsibilities" movement, a surging revolutionary movement responding in time to the imperative demands of the resistance, our women shouldered the very important and heavy task of building and consolidating the great socialist rear. Constantly supplying the front with material means and moral encouragement, braving bombs and shells, scorning the inclemencies of the weather, our women stuck to their fields and the factories to ensure production in all circumstances, upholding the tradition of heroism and industriousness of the Vietnamese women. Each grain of paddy sent to the front is imbued with the "three responsibilities" spirit of our women in the rear, with their profound feelings of affection, their sweat and even their blood. The might of the socialist North, the revolutionary base of the entire country, is, in large measure, drawn from the strength of our women risen up to be masters of the society, of the country.

Our Party and State highly appreciate the efforts and achievements of our women in the national democratic revolution as well as in socialist revolution, in production as well as in fighting. The patriotism, valiant fighting spirit, devotion, self-sacrifice, self-abnegation, resourcefulness and creativeness of the heroines Nguyen Thi Suot, Nguyen Thi Hanh, Vu Thi Thanh Nhâm, Dao Thi Hao, Nguyên Thi Song, La Thi Tam and many other women are

brilliant manifestations of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism. The heroic, undaunted, loyal and capable Vietnamese women are one of the finest images of the Vietnamese of our generation.

Dear comrades,

In the old society, women were those who suffered most, and who were most oppressed. Therefore they were highly responsive to the revolution, and constitute a great force of the people. No revolutionary campaign can succeed without the participation of women. The socialist revolution, the most profound, thorough and all-sided revolution in the history of mankind, is all the more unimaginable without the active participation of women. Lenin once said "if women are not drawn into public service, into the militia, into political life, if women are not torn out of their stupefying house and kitchen environment, genuine freedom cannot be secured, democracy cannot be established, let alone the building of socialism" (1).

The emancipation of woment must be associated with national liberation and the liberation of the working class. If the nation and the working are not liberated, the women will not be liberated. Yet, if the women are not emancipated and do not yet share the role of masters of the country, the nation as well as the working class are not really liberated. A society cannot be considered civilized and advanc-

(1) V.I. Lénin : *Collected Works* (in Russian), National Political Publishing House, Moscow 1952. Vol. 23, p. 320.

ed if women are still dependent and do not enjoy freedom. The extent to which women are masters of society is a yardstick of the development and progress of a society, because women were those who endured the greatest injustice in the old society. As President Ho Chi Minh has put it "If the women are not emancipated, socialism is only half established"[1]. But it is only socialist revolution and the cause of socialist construction that can create all necessary conditions, economic and social, material and energy to serve society, and at the same time and the achievement of equality between men and women in every field, provide women with a decent position in society, bring into full play their ability and energy to serve society, and at the same time ensure them a happy family life. That is why, more than anybody else, women cherish revolution and socialism.

As an integral part of the revolutionary movement, the emancipation of women can only be carried out step by step along with the common victories of the revolution. The glorious victory of the August 1945 Revolution, the great victories of the two heroic wars of resistance against imperialist aggressors, the great achievement of land reform, of socialist transformation and initial socialist construction constitute big leaps forward for the Vietnamese revolution and at the same time big leaps forward in women's life, fundamentally changing women's position in society. Freed from all social

(1) Ho Chi Minh : *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese). *Su That* Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, P. 728.

injustices and the bonds of feudalism, the Vietnamese women of today, from the status of slaves most heavily oppressed and down-trodden, have become the collective masters of society and the State.

These great changes in practical life have been recognized by law in the democratic republican regime. The constitution of our country, as well as many laws of the State, specify equal rights in every respect for women, confirm women's rights in all spheres of social activity as well as in marriage and in the family. The Party, the State, the women's and youth organizations and the trade unions give due consideration to the work of raising the political consciousness, and the scientific and technical levels of women, help them with their family problems and constantly promote the role of women in production and in the management of the State. The force and capacity of women which our Party, Government and regime seek actively to encourage, foster and promote, have become a big source of strength, and an extremely important guarantee for the successful fulfilment of every revolutionary task. The achievements and progress of the women's movement in the past few years represent a great success of our Party in mass mobilization and also an outstanding achievement of the Viet Nam Women's Union.

However, we cannot be content with the achievements recorded so far in the mobilization of women. Although women in our country have made greater advances than ever before and have become masters

of society and of the State, they have not brought into play all their capacities, since they still meet with many difficulties in terms of working conditions, educational and vocational standards and family burdens. The labour force of women is very abundant, but it is not reasonably distributed and employed, and hence has low productivity. In our society there still exist not quite correct conceptions concerning the relationship between family and society, the responsibilities of a women toward society and her family and the responsibilities of society toward every family, every woman, every mother and every wife.

Among the people, and even among the cadres, there are still remnants of backward feudalistic ideas such as paying more consideration to men than women, not duly respecting and protecting the legitimate rights of women, not setting out to free women from "family slavery", and, worse still, the committing of brutal and inhuman acts on women. Such a situation seriously prevents the implementation, even in the present socio-economic conditions, of the policies, rules and regulations aimed at raising the role and position of women in society. It requires us to work even harder in many respects to fully realize equality between men and women and emancipate the women.

So, what does the question of women's emancipation and the achievement of equality between men and women imply in the present stage of the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam? It is clear

that after the decisive victories of socialist transformation and the establishment of new relations of production, the principal content of the struggle for the emancipation of women is mainly a struggle against economic poverty, against the backward and wrong conceptions of the old society with regard to women. It is mainly to achieve an ever-wider participation by women in the management of society and production in line with their characteristics and capacities. It is to reduce the burden of housework by means of rational reorganization of their life; it is to work actively to raise women's political, educational, scientific and technical standards. Thus in the socialist revolution, to emancipate women *is in essence to ensure their fullest participation as collective masters in all three respects: to be masters of society, to be masters of nature and to be masters of themselves.* This is the content of the struggle for the emancipation of the women in the period of transition to socialism. It is only in the socialist regime that everyone is master; this is a quite new regime in history, which can emancipate not only the whole of society but also every family, bringing about a new life both for the society and for each family, and harmoniously combining the interests and well-being of society with the interests and well-being of every family. Furthermore, not only does the regime of collective mastery promote women to the rank of masters of society and of the State, it also creates conditions for them to master nature and themselves, and to make ever greater progress. Therefore, to establish a socialist regime

of collective mastery conforms most closely with the interests and aspirations of women, and is a basic means of their thorough emancipation. Of course, this lofty cause can only be the product of the successful achievement of the three revolutions (the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution), of the transformation of small, backward production into large-scale socialist production. As Lenin has pointed out: "It is only when and where a struggle by the masses (under the leadership of the proletariat in power) begins against the small family economy, or rather only when there is a transformation of the whole small economy into a socialist economy on a large scale, that there can be a real start to the emancipation of women and that real communism can exist." (1)

In this revolutionary cause, a cause dear to the hearts of women themselves, they ought to strive to set forth, move vigorously forward, trample underfoot all difficulties and obstacles, doing away with their inferiority complex and self-complacency. With all their strength and intelligence, let the Vietnamese women rise up as a dynamic force, to speed up the process of building a new regime, a new economy and a new man so as to render our society truly fine and superior, and bring splendour to the Fatherland, and happiness to every family. This is both a heavy responsibility and a great

(1) V.I. Lenin : *Collected Works* (in Vietnamese), *Su That* Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Vol 29, P. 490.

honour of the women's movement in the present new stage.

In order to successfully fulfil such a noble historic mission, the especially important task of the women's movement in the North is *"To build a new socialist woman"* — what do we mean by a new woman ? One who carries out well her duty as a socialist citizen. One who fulfils satisfactorily her noble function as a mother toward her children, and as a wife in the family. As a matter of fact, a given women in every society is a citizen, mother and wife. But there is a basic and striking difference between a slave citizen, a hired worker in a regime of private ownership, and a socialist citizen who is collective master and master of the State ; between a feudal or capitalist family and a socialist one ; between a mother and wife in the old society and a mother and wife in the new one. In our regime, not only women's participation in public affairs (economic management, State management) but even their childbirth, the bringing up and education of their children, and housework, all assume a *profoundly social character,* are closely related to the general progress of society and constitute an integral part of the cause of transforming the old society and building a new one.

At present, following the great victory of our resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage in which the *general task of the North* was laid down by the 22nd Plenum of the Party's Central Committee as follows : to unite the entire

people, strive to carry out socialist industrialization, speed up the three revolutions, build up, and quickly, strongly and steadily take North Viet Nam to socialism ; combine economy closely with national defence, remain vigilant, stand ready to smash all manœuvres of the US imperialists and their henchmen, strive to fulfil one's duty in the revolutionary struggle for the completion of independence and democracy in South Viet Nam, advance toward peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, and fulfil the internationalist obligations towards the Lao and Khmer revolutions.

In the two years 1974-1975, the task of the North is: to rapidly complete the healing of the wounds of war, strive to rehabilitate and develop the economy, promote culture, continue to build the material and technical foundations of socialism, consolidate socialist relations of production and the socialist regime in every respect, stabilize the economic situation and the people's life, strengthen national defence, and strive to fulfil one's duty towards heroic South Viet Nam.

To carry out well the duty of a Vietnamese citizen who loves her country and socialism, each woman must do her utmost to contribute to the successful fulfilment of this general task.

Nowadays, the female labour force accounts for more than 60% of the total labour force in agriculture, 42% of the total number of workers and employees, 52% of handicraft workers, nearly 60% in commerce, nearly 60% in the public health service, 52% in education, etc. With their participation

in all branches of our national economy, with their industriousness and their capacity to endure inclement weather conditions Vietnamese women may actually become the mainstay of the movement for labour, production and the practice of thrift in socialist construction. If we formerly spared no sacrifices and devoted our lives for the independence and freedom of our Fatherland, we now stand ready to dedicate all our strength and intelligence to the cause of national construction. If formerly Vietnamese women were capable of writing splendid pages in the history of our nation's struggle against foreign invasion, they are now all the more capable, with their self-conscious and creative labour, of making worthy contributions to enhancing the strength of our country, eliminating poverty and backwardness, wiping out all negative and unhealthy manifestations which are at variance with the nature of our regime and the lines and policies of our Party and State.

In our society, when speaking of work we should emphasize work accompanied by technique, organization and discipline, for work in our system should be work with high productivity, turning out as much material wealth as possible for ourselves as well as for society, for the present generation as well as for the generations to come. Work without technique or without high productivity is rudimentary work at variance with the nature of our socialist labour. Therefore more than anybody else, Vietnamese women should strive to study, constantly raise their professional standards, master science

and technique, set an example in the observance of labour discipline, criticize the "hired labour" attitude, idleness, laziness and sluggishness. How many heroines and model women workers there are in various economic and cultural branches who have upheld the new style in labour and have provided elcquent testimony to the great capabilities of women workers. The question is how to mobilize, above all how to organize and direct them.

Being good citizens in our society and a big force in the population, women should assume a worthy position in the management of society and the State. At present, in our National Assembly, 30% of the deputies are women and in the people's councils the rate is 40%. There are 50 vice-chairwomen and women members in provincial administrative committees, more than 3,000 chairwomen, vice-chairwomen of district and village administrative committee; 130 managers or deputy-managers of factories, 1,200 college lecturers, nearly 7,000 presidents or vice-presidents of agricultural co-operatives. This is a big step forward on the part of women and in realizing women's role as masters of society. In the days to come, we must create favourable conditions for the women to participate more effectively in the management of the economy and the State.

Our Party and State hope that this Congress will concentrate its discussion on discovering all measures to arouse an effervescent revolutionary upsurge among women, and, together with the trade unions and the Youth Union, strongly step up the

movement for production with economization for the socialist cause, for the kith-and-kin South and for the reunification of the country.

The woman is a citizen, a worker in society, and at the same time a wife and a mother. Only if we see all these aspects can we correctly tackle women's problems, correctly solve the tasks of women's emancipation and thoroughly understand the women's movement. When we speak of a wife and mother, we speak of a family. The question of women's emancipation is closely associated with the building of a new, socialist family.

The family is a natural cell of society, a form of existence of the people's life. Without the family there cannot be reproduction of man himself and the society cannot survive and develop.

As a product of the society, the family has developed together with the evolution of the society. The socio-economic conditions in a determined period of development of history are the factors which decide the character and structure of the family. In exploiting societies, the family was based on private interests; it therefore gave rise in the feudal family to the principle "the husband calls the tune," and in capitalist marriage to the principle "hand over the money first." These inhuman principles brought untold suffering and humiliation to women. In socialist society, which does away with the regime of private ownership, of oppression and exploitation, the family is built on equal relations and genuine love. The family is no longer an economic unit as in former societies of small-scale

individual production. As an element closely reflecting the relations of sentiment and virtue, the socialist family fulfils an indispensable social function in the life and development of the new society.

Hitherto, a number of us have not paid sufficient attention to the study of the problem of the family. Thus they have not seen clearly the relation between the family and society, the rights as well as the responsibility of the family under the socialist regime. It seems that there are comrades who still think that as a revolutionary one does not speak of the family: that if we speak of the family, it means that we speak of individual interests, of private affairs which run counter to collective morality.

This is not so. A revolutionary does not underestimate the family. He is not a "no-family" person as the anti-communists used to allege. On the contrary, he is a patriot, a person who cherishes the high ideology of socialism, a fighter who heartily struggles for the happiness of the people and pays great attention to the family. With regard to this question, our basic point of view is: the interests and happiness of the family totally depend on the interests and happiness of the society. And the happiness of the society is manifested in the happiness of each member of the society, of each family.

In fact, there can be no family happiness, if there is still class exploitation, people are still suffering and the whole society has not yet achieved complete well-being. For this reason, in their resolute struggle to liberate the nation, liberate the class, the

revolutionary and the patriotic citizen know how to put the common interest before and above all. For the sake of common interests, they are ready to sacrifice all private interests. And what is the whole significance of this struggle full of sacrifices? It aims at realizing a free and happy society free from want and care. Once the society is happy, naturally the family is happy, too.

The socialist revolution brings happiness to all families. Together with the building of socialism, the material and moral life of the family is secured and enhanced in quality with every day that passes. On the other hand, a well-organized, cheerful and happy family life is a very important condition for the peace of mind and enthusiasm of the working people in serving society. Organizing family living conditions well, in conformity with the norms of the new life, constitutes an important condition of the building of a new society, of social progress in the fields of economy, culture and morality. President Ho Chi Minh has said: "It's correct to pay great attention to the family, because many families added together make up a society, and a good society makes families better."(1)

Constantly developing production, to satisfy the ever growing material and cultural demands of the people on the basis of continuous development of production, is the requirement of the basic economic law of socialism. In many cases, these requirements

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(1) Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, (in Vietnamese) *Su That Publishing House*, Hanoi 1960, P. 728.

were met according to family unit. That is why the Party, Government and mass organization must take care of the life of each family, of the clothing, food, lodging, education and rearing of children. When we solve the problems relating to the people's life, we must pay attention to the family unit with its diverse requirements. We must see to it that families have the best services, the most convenient to their needs. What is to be done for a family, for the needs of family life? This question should naturally come forward when thinking of the economy, production and living conditions. This matter should be raised in co-operatives, at district and provincial levels, and in the State plan in general. Only when we have a deep sense of serving the people, knowing well the living conditions of each family, how it fares for food and lodging, etc., can we really answer the questions "What should be done for a family?", "What should one do to serve the people better?" Society as a whole takes care of each family and builds it into a happy and well-off unit so that it is able to put greater efforts into building a new society. Everyone must care for the life and happiness of the family, not with any selfish narrow-mindedness, but with a sense of being collective master of society. Not only does he care for his own family but he also pays attention to all other families in society. Efforts should be exerted to arrange family life rationally and in accordance with the general situation in the country so as to create conditions for each family member to fulfil to the utmost his duty to society.

In the socialist system, the conjugal relationship is based on genuine love. The wife and husband do not depend on each other economically, their marriage is based on love. This love is not a fleeting thing, but a lasting sentiment constantly consolidated by mutual respect and shared ideals. The mutual respect of wife and husband means that they take into due consideration each other's habits and opinions and show constant concern and care for each other. Their true mutual love and respect will help them live in harmony and together settle their family's affairs, take good care of their children help each other to make progress in all fields. and encourage each other to fulfil their social obligations. A Vietnamese proverb says: "A husband a wife who live happily together can scoop dry the Eastern Sea." Such a family is a happy family and when all families are happy, the whole society will have an abundance of happiness.

I would like to talk especially about *the great social significance of the role of the mother in the family.* The mother gives birth to children, brings them up, maintains the existence of the race, ensuring society's life and development. Of course the father's role cannot be neglected. However "the father's giving life to a child cannot match a mother's care." This Vietnamese saying is a particular feature of Vietnamese culture. In contrast to the feudal culture which humiliated the women, regarded women as "difficult to educate" and demanded that the "wife obey the husband's orderds", the people's culture upholds the spirit of "in harmony, wife and

husband can scoop dry the Eastern Sea," and raises the mother to a respected position, "the father's giving life to a child cannot match a mother's care," "care" here meaning bringing up and educating. Our new culture, the socialist culture, has inherited and developed this noble tradition of humanitarianism of the nation and people's culture.

The mother gives birth to the child, she has gone through many difficulties during her pregnancy and delivery, she brings up her child with her own milk and devotes her essential strength to the child. Besides the great obligation to the Fatherland and the revolution, what is more sacred than motherly love ? Is there any sacrifice and devotion which can match that of the mother for her child ? "Educate our children from infancy" — the child's acquaintance with human culture is first of all through the mother. Every second, every minute, the mother hands down to her child her own feelings, her own thoughts and her own experiences of life. Each word, each smile, each expression on her face, sad or joyful, leaves a deep imprint in the child's mind which he keeps throughout his life. To teach him how to talk, how to smile, to sing him to sleep with meaningful songs, to give him good advice, etc. — it is precisely in this way that the mother contributes to safeguarding and handing down the national culture from generation to generation.

There is no assessment of the mother's contribution more correct and comprehensive than the following one by President Ho Chi Minh : "Our people are very grateful to the mothers in both

zones, South and North, who have given birth to and fostered many generations of heroes in our country." (1) The Viet Nam Fatherland owes its heroic sons and daughters to the contributions of heroic, undaunted, faithful and responsible mothers. For many centuries, it was the Vietnamese mothers who hanted down to us the mettle of the Trung Sisters and Lady Trieu, industrious labour and love of country and of home. We should be proud of our Vietnamese mothers.

We understand the mother's function with all its noble social significance. The child in the socialist regime is the offspring of his mother and father and at the same time of the society as a whole. To give birth to a child, to foster him and educate him is a special function of the mother. However, it is also the responsibility and obligation of the whole of society, because, in our society, no ones lives isolated from the community of working people and broad social co-operation. On the contrary, in the old society, giving birth to a child and bringing him up was regarded as a duty of the mother alone, of each family. That is why mothers in the oppressed and exploited classes who endured untold suffering as hired labourers, felt yet greater humiliation in delivering and bringing up their children.

The mother in our regime no longer suffers these social evils. Women now enjoy a new life, they have become the collective masters of society, enjoying due social respect. The whole society cares for women

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(1) *President Ho Chi Minh and the problem of Women's emancipation.* Women Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, P. 60.

in childbirth and in the bringing up of children. Society has to take such a responsibility for it is for the sake of its own existence and common happiness, for the interests of social progress and the future of mankind.

The mother who brings up healthy and good children is, in fact, discharging a noble function for the happiness of the society and for her own happiness. The glorious contribution of the mother and father is to supply to the society their worthy sons, good citizens, strong, serious and resourceful workers. For the interests of the society and for the happiness of each family, for the present life and the happiness of future generations, the State must seek measures to care for the material and spiritual life of mothers and children.

To build up the new man is a task of prime importance of the socialist revolution. The new man is the product of the entire socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, the new man must be formed and trained right from the start, from the first suckling, from the first care given him by the family and society from the first affection, advice and recommendations of his mother and father. Many traits of the mind and character of a man are formed very early, in embryonic form, in childhood under the direct influence of the family. Many social influences have an impact on the child through the family environment. Only serious parents can bring up their children to be serious adults. The example of the parents alone constitutes a very great educational strength. Therefore, the

mother, together with the father, has an important role and responsibility to play in the formation of a new man. The family should be an expression of all that is new, beautiful, progressive, emerging, in our society ; it should meet everything that the new society requires from each person.

Dear comrades,

To form a new socialist women is the common task of our Party, our State and our people's mass organizations. All of us must make it our duty to find effective measures enabling women to tackle successfully their three tasks as citizens, mothers and wives. This is also the basic task of the Women's Union — the organization representing the interests and aspirations of the Vietnamese women.

First and foremost, *we should mobilize, organize and manage the female work force in the best and most rational way,* in order to bring into full play women's great abilities on the fronts of labour, production, and economic rehabilitation and development. On the one hand, the mass organizations — in the first place, the Women's Union — must step up political propaganda and education, raise the women's socialist consciousness, arouse their sense of collective ownership and of self-reliance, so that they may understand thoroughly the close relationship between the building of socialism and the emancipation of women. They must have a clear sense of their responsibility to the Fatherland, society and the family. On this basis, they are asked

to take the most active part in the emulation drive for labour and production, to economize and to build socialism. On the other hand, the organs of economic management will do their best to help the women acquire and improve their scientific and technical knowledge, and raise their professional capacities. They will pay particular attention to ensuring that women get the right jobs. Irrational assignment harmful to women's physiological constitution must be firmly redressed. All public services of the State, from the centre down to the grassroots, all production and working units, are to be particularly concerned with the amelioration of women's working conditions, the improvement of the tools they use in order to alleviate the intensity of women's labour. The Women's Union must contribute ideas to the State and the trade unions in deciding the directives, policies and regulations related to women's work such as training and fostering women cadres, using and protecting women's labour, etc, and, together with State organs and trade unions, control and supervise the implementation of these directives, policies and regulations.

While it mobilizes women to participate in the emulation drive for labour and production in general, the Women's Union should study to work out and launch emulation drives of the women in each branch, each locality, in the countryside, cities, enterprises and offices concentrating on very concrete tasks adapted to women's capabilities, such as the emulation drive in livestock breeding, in seedling

planting with new techniques, the women's movement in education and culture, in training and competition among skilled workers, the women's movement against dishonesty in commerce, for the protection of public property, etc. Through its guidance and organization of such concrete activities at the grassroots, the Union carries out political education well and pushes the women's movement forward.

To strongly promote women's role and ability as collective masters, the Party, the State and the mass organizations should pay more attention to *the task of training and fostering women cadres* so as to have many capable women cadres with important responsibilities in the leadership and management of various branches at various levels. We must sharply criticize those cadres who are unwilling to assign women to important posts, on the grounds that women sometimes have difficulties with regard to their health and families. Sometimes women have been appointed to leading bodies in a formal, perfunctory manner. They are denied rational participation in the work and the necessary assistance for the effective discharge of their tasks. For their part, women must strive to study and unceasingly acquire more and more knowledge in every respect. They must have the courage to assume fresh responsibilities, to fight any sign of narrow-mindedness, envy and selfish speculation. More than anyone else, women themselves must unite, love one another, give each other mutual assistance to make common progress and give full play to their revolutionary capacities. The Women's Union will attend closely

to the conditions of women cadres in the various public services, State-run or collective economic establishments, contacting them in this or that way, with a view to assisting and stimulating them to forge ahead, to do their best to work and study, carrying out well the tasks assigned to them. At the same time, women must be given all facilities to make use of, and develop, their abilities to do mobilization work amongst people of their sex.

A task of particular importance to enable our women to adequately meet their obligations as citizens, mothers and wives, consists in caring for their health — especially for the kinsfolk of families of war dead and invalids and armymen, or those in the worst-hit areas and mountain regions. This is an imperative task for our Party, State and mass organizations, and in particular the Women's Union. It is incumbent on us to exert ourselves to the utmost in relying on existing possibilites, co-ordinating State activities with the positive contributions of the people and of the women themselves with a view to overcoming difficulties in their everyday life, from living conditions and child care to study and working conditions. The State must complete all policies and regulations relating to the lives of our women; the State organs and the trade unions should build and efficiently run nurseries, kindergartens, canteens, medical stations, maternity houses, public bath-rooms and wells, and enlarge the network of distribution of consumer goods and home service groups in cities and townships. The Party committees and administrative bodies at

all levels, and the mass organizations, should take the most practical and concrete measures to help our women surmount immediate problems in family life, and gradually alleviate the burdens of housework, especially shopping and cooking. Those are the most practical tasks to achieve the emancipation of the women, ensure their right to collective mastery and equality between men and women.

We have been conscious of the function of the mother as well as of her role and obligations in the socialist regime. Therefore, our entire society, our Party and State, our mass organizations must care for the mothers so that each of them may fulfil with honour her lofty function. *The work of the Women's Union on behalf of mothers thus figures among the tasks that must be given first priority.*

We must pay great attention to the health of our women and help them bring up their children properly. The Women's Union should co-operate closely with the public health services to initiate them into a hygienic mode of life, guide them in practising gynecological hygiene, protection of the fœtus, family planning and scientific child-rearing and persuade them to renounce backward habits in everyday life and child-rearing so that women lying-in are properly delivered, and are able to bring up their children satisfactorily and remain in good health to carry on with their work. The Women's Union must take the initiative in this work, discuss with the trade unions, the Committee for the Protection of Mothers and Children and other State organs to work out the most effective plans to

enlarge the network of nurseries and kindergartens in the countryside as well as in the towns, and qualitatively improve the service of these establishments, so that mothers and families can confidently send their children to the nurseries and kindergartens. We must organize nurseries and kindergartens in such ways as to conform with the concrete conditions of work of women in various production bases and offices, in order to create the most favourable conditions for the mothers to have their children received in those establishments. The Union must exhort the women to contribute actively to building nurseries and kindergartens and launch "build good nurseries and kindergartens" drives.

In the socialist system, we attach much importance to family education and social education. Every child of ours must be brought up properly in the family and given adequate education in society, from nurseries, kindergartens to infant-classes, from primary and secondary schools to universities, from the Ho Chi Minh Young Pioneer organization to the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union. The conditions of our children should be determined through close co-operation between family and society ; however, nobody can be in a better position to understand, approach, help and educate our little ones than their parents.

The Women's Union is supposed, together with medical, educational and cultural organs, etc., to guide mothers in doing well the task of bringing up and educating their children so that they understand the social meaning of this task, are fully conscious

of their responsibility as mothers, and acquire the necessary scientific knowledge in the matter, launching "Loving Mother Excelling in Rearing and Educating Children" drives. It is desirable to organize in grassroots units teach-ins dealing with the bringing-up of children by their mothers, and collaboration between families, nurseries, kindergartens, schools and mass organizations in the education of our little ones.

The education of children, the guidance of the mothers in the bringing-up of their offspring is a task of great importance. The Women's Union must sum up experiences in its agitational work among mothers with a view to further improving work in this field of activity in the next period.

Thus, the activity of the Women's Union is very tightly associated with the vigorous efforts of our women as a whole to meet their obligations as citizens and mothers, with the formation of new, socialist women.

Every activity of the Union is designed to stir up a surging revolutionary movement among women. To effectively arouse and continuously impel forward the women's movement, the leading bodies of the Union at all levels must always grasp the spirit of the general revolutionary tasks in the entire country, as well as the immediate important tasks of the North in the new stage, perfectly assimilate the policies of our Party, understand the major decisions of our Party and Government relating to economic and State management in different periods, closely follow the activities of

economic, cultural, scientific and technical branches, thereby laying down precise and correct tasks, adopting appropriate forms and methods of agitation appropriate to women of different ages, of different callings and in diffferent regions.

The Women's Union should permanently work in close co-operation with the trade unions, the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, and the State offices and mass organizations to mobilize the women's movement, and to care for the conditions and interests of women. On their part, the trade unions, the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union and the State organs must offer to the Women's Union their unstinted co-operation in agitational work among women and consider such co-operation as their obligation.

The Party Committees at all levels are expected to guide agitational work among women, to lead the administrative bodies and mass organizations in fully applying the Party's policies and line of mobilizing the women, thus creating favourable conditions for the Women's Union to successfully rally, educate and organize the Vietnamese women to play their part in the glorious struggle for the common revolutionary cause of the nation and the people and for the emancipation of women.

Dear comrades,

While the Northern part of our country is entering a new stage and our Congress is discussing the tasks of the women in the building of socialism, our minds always turn toward the South, the beloved

half of the country which is still continuing the struggle to achieve the cause of national liberation.

In the past 30 years, gunfire has not ceased even for a single day in the South. The French colonialists defeated, the US imperialists rushed in, step by step intervened, then committed armed aggression, staged a permanent "pacification," a large-scale massacre, a genocidal war which has left a very heavy aftermath for our people and in the course of which the South Vietnamese women have endured untold suffering and mourning.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have turned the South into a huge prison; innocent people, women and children are herded into concentration camps with all kinds of harsh repression; patriots are searched, arrested and killed; hundreds of thousands of them are subjected to slow death in the "tiger cages", and the concentration camps; women especially suffer all kinds of brutal tortures. They pressganged the youth and vast numbers of men to take up rifles to fight as US mercenaries, in opposition to the fatherland, to kill their compatriots, leaving behind countless widows and orphans. US bombs and bullets and noxious chemicals have not only ravaged ricefields and orchards but also destroyed fœtuses in the wombs of mothers, causing sterility in many women. US culture trampled on women's dignity, poisoned the children's minds, destroyed the fine tradition of the nation's culture and pushed a part of South Viet Nam society into a life of frantic debauchery and disrupted hundreds of thousands of families.

But the yoke of domination by the US and its lackeys, which provokes the deep hatred of our Southern compatriots, and their dream of conquering and turning the South into a new-type US colony, can never extinguish the ardent patriotism of the South Viet Nam people and women of all strata. It finally collapsed in face of the powerful offensive of those who had stood up together with the entire country to wage the great and successful August Revolution and carry out the anti-French Resistance war to victory.

Seething with hatred of the enemy who had occupied their country and destroyed their families. the South Viet Nam women rose in a resolute struggle against the enemy, valiantly holding high the banner of independence and freedom over the past 20 years, and, together with all our compatriots and combatants, have written glorious pages in the history of the Fatherland's "Brass Wall". The unflinching and ingenious struggle of the "long-haired army" on the three fronts of political, military and agitational propaganda among puppet soldiers has brought into relief the marvellous strength and nature of the patriotic fight in the South.

Throughout the period of development of the South Viet Nam revolution, women were the great majority of people who actively volunteered in the hard, persistent and very resolute struggle against the very brutal measures and "pacification" schemes of the US and its puppets. Especially, our women made up the main force in a series of successful uprisings that marked the growth of the Revolution

in each stage. These were the concerted uprisings carried out in the vast rural area in the years 1959-1960 which basically defeated the typical strategy of US neo-colonialism; the three-pronged attack of the political army that smashed completely the system of strategic hamlets, thus creating conditions for the South Viet Nam armed forces and people to defeat the US "special war" strategy and topple the fascist Ngo Dinh Diem distatorship; and the simultaneous uprisings in the rural area and in a number of cities and provinces in the general offensive of 1968 which dealt telling blows at the US "local war" strategy, and the big uprisings that struck at the rural pacification plan of the US and its puppets, thus making an important contribution to winning a great victory in the strategic offensive of 1972, devastatingly crushing the US "Vietnamization of the war" program.

The oustanding combative image of our Southern sisters is that of tens of thousands of women in the women's army who, defying enemy weapons and repressive actions, have stoutheartedly marched forward, wedding reason to violence, opposing terror and massacre, steadfastly sticking to their native land, determined "not to yield an inch," holding firm to their every hamlet, their every orchard. It is the image of mammoth uprising to shatter the scheme of strategic hamlets, of hosts of women's detachments pushing forward to brave tanks and cannons, repelling US-puppet sweeps, of all-women guerilla units and artillery platoons flexibly countering enemy aircraft and warships, opposing small-

er to bigger forces, lesser to larger quantities. It is the image of columns of supply carriers made up of women, those "brass-legged and iron-shouldered transport fighters" who, though often without food, never left the frontline, always ensuring the timely delivery of good and ammunition to the front; of those women cadres who day and night stuck to the land and the population in the enemy rear, present at every hot spot to win over every inhabitant every hamlet, every village; of thousands of women detainees who, despite cruel tortures, remained unwavering in their rock-like belief and kept their revolutionary dignity intact in confrontation with the enemy right inside the US-Saigon prisons. It is the image of innumerable patriotic mothers who wholeheartedly protected and cared for combatants and the wounded, or saved every bowl of rice for their armed forces to be adequately fed to fight the aggressors; of how many other mothers and sisters of ours serving on all the battlefields across South Viet Nam. All this reflects well the resplendent image of Vietnamese women who are fully worthy of the honourable qualities of "heroism, undauntedness, loyalty and capacity".

Our people boundlessly admire the self-sacrificing, arduous and supremely valiant behaviour of the South Vietnamese women, admire the heroic examples of Nguyen Thi Ut Tich, Nguyen Thi Hong Gam, Tran Thi Tam, Ta Thi Kieu, Nguyen Thi Phuc, Y Buong... and of so many other heroines and war dead, those fighters with or without a name who

have contributed so meritoriously to the brilliant record of our women.

The conclusion of the Paris Agreement is a great victory of our people. Struggling for the full implementation of this Accord is the most advantageous way to end the disasters caused by the cruel US war of aggression to the South Vietnamese population and women.

But for more than a year past, the US imperialists and the Saigon junta have systematically torpedoed the Agreement. To their towering crimes of the recent past, the US and its henchmen have been adding fresh felonies!

The US maintains its military involvement in South Viet Nam, using the bloody hands of the Saigon bureaucratic militarist clique to continue the war in the illusory hope of doing away with the achievements of the revolution, perpetuating the partition of our country and imposing US neo-colonialism. The traitorous Nguyen Van Thieu clique, aided and abetted by the US, is intensifying land-grabbing operations against the liberated zone, feverishly stepping up "pacification" raids, and conducting downright terror, slaughter and looting in the areas under its control, trampling underfoot every legitimate aspiration of all sectors of the population.

Faced with this obdurate and arrogant attitude of the US and its puppets, our people in the South cannot remain passively inactive. Joining the torrential movement of the population, the South Vietnamese women in Saigon-held areas are closing

their ranks and vigorously opposing all Saigon policies and measures of repression, exploitation and money-squeezing, demanding democratic liberties and the right to return to their land to earn their living; repelling and foiling "pacification" moves; rising up to abolish coercion and wrest back their right to be masters, to win back every relative, every family, every hamlet; determined not to let their husbands and sons be hurled into desperate operations, not to let their native places be obliterated. The women in cities and towns, unable to live suffocated in misery any longer, are joining other sectors of the population in the struggle for improvement of living conditions, for rice, payments, tax cuts and a solution to unemployment against terror and looting, determined not to let the US-Thieu regime drag on the war to their detriment. In the liberated zone, the women, forming a considerable force, are bringing into play their role of masters earnestly taking part in production and fighting, defending and building the revolutionary power, building a plentiful and good life with a view to consolidating the liberated zone into the mainstay of the South Viet Nam revolution.

Under the leadership of the NFL and the PRG, we are certain that the South Vietnamese women will develop their glorious revolutionary tradition, and will always merit the name of valiant shock-brigade in upholding the banner of independence and freedom. The South Vietnamese women will devote all their spirit and strength to uniting with the entire South Vietnamese people and combatants,

so as to foil all sinister designs of the US imperialists and their henchmen, demand the implementation of the Paris Agreement and achieve by all means peace, democracy, the improvement of the people's lives, bringing the South Vietnamese revolution to complete victory, thereby ending misery, suffering and erasing all shame and hatred.

The lofty objective of our entire people is successfut socialist construction in the North, and the struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution in the South, in advance towards the peaceful reunification of the country. Socialism, national independence and democracy represented the invincible strength of our people in the recent anti-US struggle for national salvation. They are also the inexhaustible and invincible source of strength to guarantee our advance towards the complete victory of our people's revolution throughout the whole country.

Viet Nam is one ! The Vietnamese nation is one ! North and South are under the same roof ! The entire country is singleminded ! The women of both North and South Viet Nam are united in their struggle, and with the assistance of the Lao and Cambodian women and women all over the world will certainly fulfil together throughout the entire nation the behest contained in President Ho Chi Minh's Testament, that is, "to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thereby contributing worthily to the world revolution."

Looking back at the revolutionary path traversed since the founding of our Party, especially since the August Revolution, we are extremely proud of the outstanding maturity of the women's movement.

At present, our revolution is entering a new stage. Our Party's Central Committee is confident that the Viet Nam Women's Union and all women, with their abundant strength and glorious revolutionary tradition, will strive to make the North stronger in every respect and to fulfil its tasks toward the revolution in South Viet Nam.

North Vietnamese women ! Go forward to accomplish the tasks of good citizes and good mothers, thus contributing an outstanding part to the struggte for the construction and prosperity of the country, for the happiness of your children !

I wish the Congress and all our Comrades full success. May the Congress instil in the women new strength, new stamina and step up the surging women's movement !

THE COURAGEOUS AND RESOURCEFUL WOMEN OF VIET NAM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION AND IN THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF
VIETNAM WOMEN'S UNION

4 VK

Comrades Party and Government Leaders,

Comrades Delegates of the Women's International Democratic Federation and women's organizations of various countries,

Comrades delegates,

Thirteen years have elapsed since the Third National Congress of Vietnamese Women. Many events of major importance have taken place in our country in that period of time The most valiant war of resistance in the history of our people's struggle against foreign aggression has scored a tremendous victory. Socialist construction in the North has recorded great achievements. The revolutionary change in the life of our women has been very deep.

The American imperialists, after eighteen years of aggression against our country, were compelled to sign the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, and to recognize our independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. This is a historic and epochal victory. The victory of Viet Nam is that of the judicious and creative political, military and international line of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and our great President Ho Chi Minh. It is also the common

victory of the socialist camp, of the peoples now struggling for independence and freedom, and of people standing for peace, democracy and social progress all over the world.

More than a year has passed since the signing of the Paris Agreement. But the American imperialists, due to their reactionary and aggressive nature, have not yet given up their attempts to impose a neo-colonialist regime on South Viet Nam with a view to a permanent partition of our country. They are stubbornly continuing their involvement in South Viet Nam and their aid to the anti-people and anti-national Saigon administration, thus violating the Paris agreement in a serious and systematic way.

The revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese nation is entering a new stage. Over the past year, as well as consolidating and developing the successes achieved, the people in both zones of our country have actively struggled for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement at the same time as building up and developing their strength in every respect. In order to defend the liberated area, safeguard peace, and take the revolution in the South firmly and steadily forward, the people and armed forces of the indomitable and heroic South have resolutely foiled the land-grabbing operations launched by the Saigon army, prompted by the U.S. The people in the North are making great efforts to heal the wounds of war and stabilize production and living conditions.

The Resolution adopted at the 22nd plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

has set a common task for all peoples of the North in the new stage: to restore and develop the economy in the years 1974-1975, to continue to heal the wounds of war to pursue the building of socialism, to increase the strength of the North and to lay a firm basis for the struggle aimed at defending peace, completing independence and democracy in the South and progressing towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

At this historic turning-point, the task of the Fourth National Congress of Vietnamese Women is to assess the growth of the women's movement during the past years, and to work out its orientation and tasks in the new revolutionary stage. Turning their thoughts to the Congress, women of all walks of life have enthusiastically stepped up their activities and contributed many ideas for the elaboration of the documents of the Congress. They wish the movement to move forward even more strongly and they want to make glorious contributions to the nation's revolutionary cause and to advance still further the cause of women's emancipation.

On behalf of the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union, I am presenting this report to the Congress. It includes two parts:

1. The growth of the women's movement in Viet Nam since the Third National Congress of Vietnamese women.

2. Orientations and tasks of the Viet Nam Women's Union in the new stage.

PART ONE

THE GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT SINCE THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN

Over the past 13 years, the women's movement, an integral part of the great revolutionary movement of the entire people, has developed powerfully and has brilliantly contributed to the fulfilment of the two strategic tasks of the Party; to struggle against American aggression for national salvation, and to build socialism.

After the holding of the Party's Third National Congress in 1960, the North of our country entered the period of socialist construction. The people of the North, while enthusiastically making use of the newly-established socialist relations of production, strove to promote industrial, agricultural and handicraft production and to develop culture.

Implementing the resolution adopted at the Third National Congress of Vietnamese Women (1961), the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union launched the "*five goods*" movement [1] which, with the slogan "*Let us work diligently and practise thrift in order to build the country and our own families; let us strive for equality between men and women*", encouraged

1. Solidarity, production, thrift, education of children implementation of policies.

women to work hard, to bring up healthy and good children, and to foster harmony, concord and happiness in their families.

However, the peaceful construction of the North was interrupted by the American imperialists who, having failed in their "special war" in the South, rashly embarked upon a "limited war". Starting in 1965, they brought half a million American expeditionary troops to South Viet Nam and expanded the war to the North through air and naval actions. striving to wreck socialist construction there while preventing the great rear area from supporting the heroic frontline.

Facing this shift from peace to war, and implementing the resolutions adopted at the 11th and 12th plenums of the Party Central Committee, the Central Executive Committee of the Women's Union launched the movement *"To shoulder the three responsibilities* [1] *in order to struggle against American aggression for national salvation, and to build socialism"*. That movement strongly stimulated women's patriotism and love for socialism and encouraged them to shoulder both family and State affairs. Imbued with the truth that *"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"*, millions of women of all walks of life, age groups, nationalities and religions, overcame countless hardships and difficulties and courageously stood up to

1. — Production work.
— Family care, combat and combat support activities.

fight the enemy and save the country, to defend and build up the socialist North, and to give assistance and support to the revolution in the South. Together with the general patriotic emulation drive, the "Three Responsibilities" movement caused women to bring their potentialities into full play in all fields and to contribute brilliantly to the glorious victory of the nation.

Comrades delegates,

War is the greatest trial for any social system. In order to defeat the American imperialists, the women and people of Viet Nam raised their revolutionary heroism to great heights, fighting the enemy at the same time as carrying on socialist construction, and growing stronger and more mature as they fought. The popular saying, "When the enemy comes, even the women must fight", expresses a long-standing tradition amongst our women. However, never before in the history of the nation's armed struggle had there been such a massive participation by women, who not only did support work but who directly fought the enemy with the greatest courage and selflessness, and who displayed the greatest ability in many important fields.

The women of Viet Nam are deeply attached to their families and dearly love their husbands and children. But when the country was invaded, millions of women set aside their personal feelings and urged their husbands and sons to go and fight. Many, whose sons had fought in the resistance now

saw their grand sons off to the battlefront. Others, whose husbands had joined the armed forces, now urged their sons to follow in the steps of their fathers. Tens of thousands of women had three sons or more in the army or as many as seven in numerous cases. Others insisted that their only son be accepted in the armed forces in order to help defend the country.

In the rear areas, with the help of their communities, they took care of their old parents, remained faithful to their husbands, actively engaged in production work and social activities, and attended to their family affairs, while also helping to provide adequate food, clothing and education for our millions of children. How noble were those mothers and wives bereaved of their sons or husbands who remained full of confidence and energy and who never allowed their sorrow to dampen their resolve to fight the aggressors!

The mothers of Viet Nam truly deserve this praise of the Party: "*Our nation and our Party owe eternal gratitude to the Vietnamese mothers, who have offered to the Fotherland those heroes who are fighting with extraordinary valour to defend the beautiful land left to us by our forefathers*".

The immense effectiveness of our soldiers and their weapons was partly due to the strong encouragement given them by their dear ones in the rear areas. In the nation-wide movement to assist the troops and their families, the multifarious activities of the Association of Combatants' Mothers stood out. With a tradition dating back to the time of

the anti-French resistance, the Association gathered hundreds of thousands of members. All displayed great patriotism and immense devotion. President Ho Chi Minh praised them in these terms: *"The combatants' mothers have encouraged their children and grandchildren to join the armed forces to fight the enemy and save the country. They feed, assist and protect cadres and soldiers as though they were their own children. Our country is proud to have thousands tens of thousands, of such wonderful mothers"*.

Women played a very important role in supporting the armed forces. The strength of the people's war was immensely boosted by the numerous forms of support given our troops by the people, and our women, in playing their part, displayed great valour, resourcefulness and devotion. They participated in civilian air-raid defence, ensured security and order, built earthworks and shelters, carried supplies, ammunition and stretchers, pursued and captured downed air pirates, spies and commandoes, defused bombs and mines, helped the people in bombed areas, etc. The women of the heroic Fourth Zone in particular, and especially those of Vinh Linh on the frontline, where for eight years running not a day passed without the explosion of bombs and shells being heard, stubbornly clung to their land, hit back hard at the American air and naval forces, and firmly defended the forward post of the socialist rear area. In the 12 historic days of late 1972, the women of Hanoi, Haiphong and other localities together with their menfolk, stood firm

at their combat posts and contributed to defeating the strategic onslaught launched by the American imperialists with their B-52 super-bombers. In those decisive hours, face to face with the enemy, heroic actions became routine and millions of ordinary women recorded brilliant exploits. Old Mrs Nguyen Thi Suot rowed her boat across the Nhat Le River, under enemy bombing and shelling, to ferry troops. Heroine Tran Thi Ly, a young militia woman of Quang Binh, displayed great valour in her work as a runner, a fighter and a supplier. Heroine Nguyen Thi Hanh, a policewomen in the heavily raided town of Vinh and a mother of 6, set a brilliant example of selfless devotion to country and people. Vu Thi Thanh Nham, a young militia woman of Nam Ha, distinguished herself in the defusing of delayed-action bombs. Those women and many others are a fine embodiment of the inexhaustible strength of the deepest and all-sided people's war.

As far as transport and communications were concerned, the flow of supplies kept moving to the front in spite of the most savage enemy raids, both night and day. Our women played a large part in that miraculous achievement. Pledging to "cling to our roads and bridges and to die a hero's death" the women members of the transport units, young volunteers' brigades and civilian workers' units, stood ready to lay down their lives to protect the artery through which blood from the heart of the fatherland was flowing to the great fighting front. Ten young members of a heroic women's squad stubbornly clung to their position at the Dong Loc

crossroads (Ha Tinh province) for nearly 200 days and nights to repair the road and keep the traffic moving. Although they were wounded, they refused to leave their post and they eventually died in action. Their extreme valour will be remembered forever! Brigade 9, Brigade 609 and Brigade 404, composed chiefly of women transport workers, were notable for their achievements in creative labour, courageous fighting, skilful management, effective study, and efficient organisation of everyday life, and were awarded the title of "Heroic Unit" by the government. Women participated en masse every where in repairing bridges and roads, filling up bomb craters, storing and protecting goods, etc. In many localities they dismantled their own houses and used the materials to repair the communication lines so that our trucks and guns could pass.

Plough or hammer in one hand, gun in the other, they joined the militia and self-defence forces en masse in all corners of the land, from the plains to the mountains. Displaying great courage, intelligence and ability to learn science, technique and military tactics, they fought in coordination with our troops and contributed to the shooting down of a total of 4,181 American aircraft. Twenty women's units, fighting separately, downed a total of 28 American aircraft. Three units, which shot down two or more aircraft each, were awarded the title of "Heroic Unit": the platoon of militia women of Hoa Loc commune (Thanh Hoa province); the squad of militia women of Ky Phuong commune (Ha Tinh

province); and the 4th Company of anti-aircraft gunners of Tien Hai (Thai Binh). Another heroic unit, the company of women coastal gunners of Ngu Thuy commune (Quang Binh province), set American war vessels on fire in five engagements. Many young women volunteered to join the regular troops and served in various technical arms-signal corps, logistic services, military medical services, armament factories etc.

The role played and the achievements recorded by our women in the resistance against American aggression for national salvation proves that, in a people's war against an enemy armed with modern weapons, the mass participation of women will strengthen the national defence potential and greatly enrich the content and methods of struggle.

Our Congress warmly hails all the women of Viet Nam, all the heroines, mothers and young women who, by their great achievements, have contributed to the victory of our entire people in their noble war of resistance. They have brought new lustre to the glorious tradition left by the Trung Sisters and Lady Trieu and shown themselves worthy of this praise of the Party: "*The Women of Viet Nam have proved themselves to be very courageous and resourceful in the resistance against American aggression for national salvation*".

Comrades Delegates,

In the two wars of destruction by the American aggressors, our women, and indeed all our people, achieved an extraordinary feat, that of not only

maintaining but also increasing our strength in all fields — political, military, economic, cultural, social.

Formerly an individual producer, dependent upon her own family, the Vietnamese women has now become an important productive force, a master of the land. This is a fundamental change and one which leads towards the emancipation of women and the realization of equality between the sexes. Thus women have quickly matured and brought into full play their productive and creative powers in all fields, contributing an important part to the building of socialism.

Women workers and State employees have grown in numbers and in quality. In 1960, they accounted for only 20% of the total number of workers and State employees. By 1972, this proportion had risen to 42%, and was still rising in 1973. The appearance of large numbers of skilled women workers and female technical and scientific cadres, who account for 33% of the total number of such personnel, is a highly significant qualitative development.

The Americans concentrated their attacks on our industrial centres, in an attempt to exterminate them. Acting on the slogan of "Our hearts can stop beating but our machines shall never stop running," hundreds of thousands of women workers displayed the vanguard character of the working class and clung to their production and combat posts, having first sent their children to evacuation places. Together with their collectives, they overcame all difficulties, evacuated and scattered machinery and

materials, and worked selflessly under bombs and shells to maintain and develop production at the same time as hitting back at the raiding American aircraft. On building sites, in factories and in mines, they enthusiastically launched emulation movements with such slagans as: "Skilled in one trade, capable of tackling many jobs", "Learning and competing to become skilled workers", etc. Many undertakings staffed largely by women fulfilled their targets for 5-12 years running. Many units with a strong sense of their collective mastery achieved record numbers of workdays and workhours, introduced many innovations, and overfulfilled their targets according to the State plans. The spinning team № 1, shift A, of the Nam Dinh textile works, in spite of numerous enemy raids, firmly maintained production and raised the quality of its products while lowering production costs; it overfulfilled its target by 122 tons of yarn and was awarded the title of "Heroic Unit" Labour heroine Cu Thi Hau of the "March 8" textile works, with her husband away at the front and several young children to look after, surpassed all her fellow-workers in her number of workdays per year for eight years running and overfulfilled her target by more than 80,000 metres of fabric over a period of 9 years. In such undertakings as the Nam Dinh and the "March 8" textile works, the Hai Phong cement plant, Haiphong harbour, the Hong Gai, Cam Pha and Cua Ong coal mines, the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex, the Vinh, Viet Tri and Ham

Rong power plants, and hundreds of other enterprises, women workers displayed great perseverance, stamina and creativeness, both in production and in combat.

In capital construction, the women clung to their posts, endured hardships and sacrifices and played their part in the building of industrial and residential quarters. Many showed a high sense of responsibility and great technical proficiency, and achieved high standards in their work. Women played an increasingly important role in the setting up of State farms, the first bases for the advance of our agriculture towards large-scale socialist production. In heavily-raided farms, the women workers participated either directly or indirectly in combat while working hard to fulfil the State plans, to promote the all-sided development of agriculture, to serve the people's needs and to produce goods for export. Post and telecommunications workers and employees clung to their posts in all key points. Calm and courageous during the air raids, they provided efficient and prompt communication and liaison services. In the fields of forestry and geology, women workers crossed forests and mountains, conducted surveys, carried out afforestation and played their part in increasing the country's wealth.

In small industry and handicrafts, women account for 52% of the full-time workers. They work in many trades and turn out tens of thousands of items, which make up one-third of the total industrial output of the North. Formerly housewives or individual producers, they are now collective pro-

ducers who have matured in many respects: they are more politically conscious and self-reliant and their cultural and professional levels have been raised substantially. Many cooperatives staffed entirely or largely by women in spite of having been forced to evacuate or scatter during the war, none the less maintained their production in quantity and quality, overfulfilled their plans for a period of many years, and became pace-setters in many localities: for instance, the Thanh Cong weaving cooperative in Hanoi, the Doan Ket cooperative in Ha Tay, the Dich Diep cooperative in Nam Ha, the Dai Dong cooperative in Ninh Binh, etc.

Our Congress warmly hails all women workers in industry and construction for their achievements as we make our first steps towards the socialist industrialization of the North.

Comrades Delegates,

In the field of agricultural production, women account for 60% of the collective peasantry. They work in almost all branches of farming and animal breeding and sideline occupations. Enemy bombs and shells ravaged the fields, destroyed dykes and dams and impaired the material and technical bases of the cooperatives. Repeated natural calamities added to the difficulties. But the industrious and courageous women peasants overcame all obstacles, clung to the fields, victoriously faced enemy attacks and natural calamities, and helped bring about the all-sided development of agriculture in the North. Having absolute confidence in the Party and the

Government, they resolutely follow the path of sccialist collectivism. On the basis of the growing consolidation of the new relations of production, the women, and indeed all our people, have struggled hard to attain the three targets in agriculture and have quickly matured in the course of this struggle.

Such key technical measures as water conservation, the making of fertilizers, the growing of azolla, new transplanting methods, the selection of seeds, etc, have become widespread in many localities. In livestock breeding, they have learned to organize large-scale breeding with new techniques in cross-breeding, food-processing, etc. Animal breeding in individual families is done mostly by the women, and at present it provides the majority of the supplies to society. In regions specializing in the growing of vegetables, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, the women have adopted necessary technical measures to increase output, to raise the quality of products, and to provide sufficient supplies for industry and export.

The above mentioned changes have contributed to raising the yields of cultivation and animal breeding. In 1972, when the war reached its climax, the target of 5 tons of paddy per hectare was attained by 3.468 farming cooperatives, a number five times greater than in 1965. In 1973, the number of pigs was twice what it was in 1961. In many provinces, the women actively contributed to these achievements. Thai Binh province was the first to attain the target of

five tons of paddy per hectare, and it maintained that output for five years running before raising it to 6 tons over the last few years. Nghe An reached that target for the first time in mid-1972, the year that the province suffered more than 5,000 raids. The fact that these results were attained while millions of young men had left the countryside to serve in the armed forces or other bodies is proof of the very important role and the immense potential of the women peasants.

In the course of the struggle between collectivism and individualism there has emerged a new type of woman peasant who is self-reliant and able to think and to act independently, and who has helped transform the old countryside. Typical of this new type are the eleven heroines in the various fields of crop cultivation, animal breeding and water conservation: Nguyen Thi Song (Ha Bac), Nguyen Thi Chen (Ha Tay), Pham Thi Vach (Hai Hung) and others. Tens of thousands of women, especially young women have completed elementary, secondary and college-level courses in farming technique and management. Nearly 7.000 presidents and vice-presidents of co-operatives are women. Nearly 80 work brigades headed by women have been awarded the title of "Socialist Labour Brigade". In almost every province, there are women who have been elected president or vice-president of co-operatives for 7-8 years running: Duong Thi Tiep has been president of the Dong Da co-op. (Vinh Phu province) for 8 years, during which the co-op reached all

three targets set for agriculture; To Thi Thanh has been the head of a work brigade in Dong Hoang commune (Thai Binh province) for 7 years, during which her brigade has reached the targets of 9.9 tons of paddy per hectare and 4.8 pigs per cultivated hectare; Nong Thi Tu, a member of the Tay national minority, has been president of the Thong Nhat co-op (Lang Son province) for 6 years running, during which paddy output has been raised from 5 tons to 8.3 tons per hectare as a result of good management.

As well as having accomplished these achievements in the consolidation of the co-operative movement and the all-sided development of agriculture in war time, the women collective farmers form an active popular force for the implementation of all policies of the Party in the rural areas. In every endeavour — support for the armed forces, air-raid defence and evacuation, food supply, water conservation, transport and communications, etc, — the women peasants have proved to be a powerful popular force, faithful to the revolution, ready to endure all sacrifices, endowed with rich potentialities and capable of making great contributions to the wealth and manpower of the fatherland.

Our Congress warmly hails the brilliant achievements of the women collective farmers, so full of courage and energy in the struggle against enemy aggression and natural calamities, so full of intelligence and creativeness in assimilating science and technique and learning economic management.

Comrades Delegates,

The American imperialists savagely attacked thousands of hospitals, schools, shops, residential quarters and collective welfare services. But our work in every field — health, education, culture, circulation and distribution, material and moral welfare — was maintained and developed even in war time.

Women account for 60% of the total of medical personnel. They have helped set up a medical network for the treatment and prevention of disease, including medical centres and maternity homes. In the years of war, they braved bombs and shells to save patients in danger; the physicians looked after the patients "like gentle mothers"; they studied hard to raise their professional level, were commended for their many innovations and did a great deal of research in order to protect the lives of civilians and the armed forces. Many hospitals with female personnel of up to 70% recorded great achievements and were awarded medals by the Government. The Quang Trach hospital (Quang Binh province) was awarded the title of "Heroic Unit".

In education, 52% of the personnel are women. School enrolment has increased rapidly: three times as many puplis in 1971-1972 as in 1960-1961. The teachers, by teaching more classes, working longer hours, building school premises, and digging shelters and trenches for protection against enemy aircraft, have helped to ensure the security of nearly 5 million pupils. With motherly affection, they take great care of their pupils, seek to understand

their wishes and aspirations, and train them to become good citizens. Many women teachers have also painstakingly striven to raise their professional standards, to become "good teachers".

In art and literature, women artists and writers have braved dangers and hardships and visited dangerous areas in order to bring songs, dances, plays and paintings to the soldiers fighting on the frontline. They have also helped to mobilize the people in the rear areas and to acquaint our friends abroad with our people's long-standing cultural traditions and noble spiritual values.

In the trading and food-distribution services, women account for 60% of the personnel. They have helped in improving circulation and distribution, maintaining price stability, and satisfying the basic needs of the people in production work and everyday life. Many clung to heavily-raided places or braved typhoons and floods in order to safeguard State property and ensure supplies to the people. Many shops, entirely staffed by women, have been awarded the title of "Socialist Labour Unit": the sundry goods department of Ben Chuong (Hoa Binh) and the fabrics and clothing department of the Hong Bang store (Hai Phong) have been named "Socialist Labour Teams" for 12 years running. In these units, the women have displayed the traditional qualities of Vietnamese women: thrift, diligence, concern for the people.

In other economic and cultural bodies and in administrative offices, the women have shown great devotion to the public interest, courageously facing

hardships and difficulties and striving to learn and to progress.

Outside the State and collective economic sectors, women in other areas of activity have all made noteworthy contributions and displayed noticeable progress. Women, whether engaged in business or in house work, have scrupulously implemented all the policies of the Party and the Government and participated in social activities. Faithful to the tradition of diligence and thrift of Vietnamese women, they have taken good care of their families and children. Many have urged their husbands and sons to go and fight in response to the call of the fatherland. A number of them have learnt a trade and gone into industry in order to better serve society. Religious women too have shown patriotism and encouraged their menfolk to join up; they have practised thrift, done their duty by the State, and many of them are working in industry.

In the mountain areas, true to the tradition of the region which was the cradle of the revolution, the women have made great strides forward. Their revolutionary consciousness, endurance of hardships, intellectual and emotional development and new life style can only be fully appreciated if one is conversant with the geographical and climatic conditions in the mountain areas. The women of the various national minorities living in the hills and valleys — Tay, Nung, Thai, Muong, Meo, Dao etc — have encouraged their husbands and children to go and fight the aggressors to protect the country's independence and freedom and their own villages

and hamlets. At home, they have helped each other build cooperatives, done support work directly fought the enemy, fired at raiding American aircraft and pursued air pirates, commandoes and spies. During the war, tens of thousands of them worked in transport and communications under deluges of bombs. Two units of women civilian workers of Song Ma and Moc Chau (Son La) clung to their posts in spite of casualties; they fulfilled their duties brilliantly and were awarded the title of "Determined to Win" units.

Strengthened by the new socialist relations of production, women of national minorities boldly apply new techniques and make full use of the strong points of agriculture in the highlands (forestry, livestock breeding, industrial crops). Obeying the recommendations of the Party, they have settled down to a sedentary life and changed their age-old nomadic habits. Instead of practising slash-and-burn cultivation on the hillslopes, they are now learning to plough and harrow and to grow rice in submerged fields. In many regions they are seeking to transform their mountainous jungle environment, to build water conservation works, and to increase the output of their crops.

Large numbers of women in the low-lying areas of the highlands have gone through junior and senior secondary education and become workers, teachers, doctors, engineers. Thousands of women from national minorities now operate complex machinery in such major enterprises as the Cao Bang tin mine and the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel works. Many

have been promoted to leading positions. The face of the mountain areas has undergone constant change. Hydroelectric power stations, roads, schools, hospitals, shops, farms, logging camps and factories have mushroomed and have contributed to the wealth and animation of the mountain regions. Many women from the delta provinces have joined forces with the highland people and participated in this immense work; and such solidarity has been of great assistance in subduing nature and overcoming poverty and backwardness.

Our Congress warmly hails the tremendous successes of women in all spheres of work from the plains and from the highlands, who have brought worthy contributions to the common victory of our people.

Dear Comrades Delegates,

In the enthusiastic atmosphere of the "Three Responsibilities» movement, there have emerged tens of thousands of outstanding women with fine moral qualities and record of brilliant achievements. Trained and tempered by the struggle and the triple revolution, women cadres have quickly developed in all areas and at all levels and have fulfilled the needs of the Party and the State.

Women accounted for 11.6% of the membership of the second National Assembly (1960) and 29.7% of that of the Fourth (1971). They made up 40% of the Membership of People's Councils at the various levels in 1972. In 1972, over 50 women were vice-presidents or members of provincial administrative

committees, nearly 3,500 were presidents or vice-president of district and communal administrative committees, nearly 2,000 were heads or deputy heads of sections in various government services at the central level (which is 15 times more than in 1965), 130 were directors or vice-directors of factories, (i.e., more than twice the 1965 figure), and more than 1,200 were college instructors (15 times more than in 1961).

The development of the ranks of women cadres gave evidence of the growth of the women's movement and of the great concern of the Party and the State for the emancipation of women, and it marked a major stage in the realization of equality between the sexes.

The development was qualitative as well as quantitative and it occurred in various areas and at various levels. When entrusted with leading or managing posts, most women are extremely careful in their management of labour and finances, and do their utmost to eradicate embezzlement and waste.. Many women have been elected to leading posts for several years running. In science and in technical and specialized trades, women have been self-reliant and have striven to raise their standards. Thanks to their perseverance, many ward orderlies and nurses have become doctors; many workers and peasants, engineers. After graduation from technical colleges or institutions, they continue their studies and strive to apply modern science and technique to the conditions of the country. Some have been

commended for valuable research work of practical use to production and people's livelihood.

In all areas, women, actively engage in the women's movement and zealously work for the cause of women's emancipation, at the same time as carrying out their professional activities.

Our women cadres are truly worthy of being known as the vanguard of the women's movement in our country!

Comrades Delegates,

In all fields of its activity, the "Three Responsibilities" movement has revealed the tremendous revolutionary potential of our women. We can be proud of the fact that, even in the course of the fiercest stage of the war, our women, young and old, workers by hand and brain, including Vietnamese returned from abroad and those still residing in foreign countries, have all contributed to the magnificent victory of our people.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle, new collectives and women of a new kind have appeared in increasing numbers. Inheriting and developing the fine qualities of the women of Viet Nam that are traditional they display staunch political consciousness, a resolve to struggle and to face sacrifices for the sake of independence, freedom and socialism, self-reliance and creative intelligence and affection for their comrades and compatriots. They are represented by those collectives and individuals who have been awarded glorious titles in emulation drives: 42 heroines, nine heroic women's collectives; 1,718

women awarded badges bearing President Ho Chi Minh's effigy; 5,000 women emulation fighters and 3,000 socialist labour brigades and teams elected each year; more than 3,000,000 women recognized as having fulfilled their "three responsibilities". Such facts are proof that, in our regime, the broad masses of women have contributed to the heroic cause of the nation.

Comrades Delegates,

The successes won by the women's movement in the North cannot be separated from the extremely valiant combat waged by the men and women of the heroic South.

Starting in 1954, following the defeat of the French colonialists, the American imperialists took over and committed direct aggression against South Viet Nam. Over the past 18 years, they have waged there an all-out war of unprecedented savagery, with a genocidal and biocidal character, the consequences of which cannot yet be fully assessed. Just in the three years of "pacification" (1969-1971) alone, the Americans dropped on the South 7 million tons of explosives, carried out more than 60,000 "mopping-up" operations, each involving one battalion or more, massacred more than 40,000 civilians without any trial, razed more than 3,000 villages (26% of the total number) and ravaged more than 43% of the cultivated area and more than 44% of the forest area with toxic chemicals. Hundreds of thousands of women and children were killed in bombing raids aimed at exterminating whole regions,

or in bloody massacres. In the massacre at Ba Lang An (Quang Ngai province) just in 1969 alone, more than 300 people were shot dead and more than 1,200 were drowned in the sea, most of them women and children. Hundreds of thousands of women were crippled by torture or doomed to a slow death in more than, 3000 prisons. Hundreds of thousands of children were ill-treated, enslaved or poisoned. Toxic chemicals caused unprecedented numbers of miscarriages and infantile malformation as well as mental disorders which will have lasting effects on the victims and on future generations.

These barbarous crimes of the Americans and their stooges, which will be abhorred by the whole of mankind for generations to come, only deepened the hatred and resolve of the men and women of the indomitable South. Through untold trials, the Southern women clung to their native land, fought dauntlessly and recorded resounding feats on all fronts : political and armed struggle, propaganda and agitation among puppet troops, production work, developing the liberated area... Under the leadership of the National Front for liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and organised and guided by the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Viet Nam, they contributed, shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces and all other peoples of South Viet Nam, to the defeat of the more than 1.2 million American and puppet troops, foiling all the strategic schemes of the Americans and compelling them to sign the Paris Agreement. The Southern women

make up a dauntless force, full of intelligence and infinite loyalty to the revolution. They are worthy of the description: "Heroic, indomitable, faithful, ready to shoulder all responsibilities" The "long-haired army" launched a relentless three-pronged attack an the enemy; they silenced his guns, repelled his tanks, grounded his planes and disintegrated his ranks. Heroic women fighters fought the American aggressors with all kinds of weapons, modern and rudimentary, and achieved brilliant exploits. Typical of them were such heroines as Nguyen Thi Ut, Ta Thi Kieu, Kan Lich, Le Thi Thanh, Nguyen Thi Lai and the late To Thi Huynh, Le Thi Hong Gam, Tran Thi Tam, and many others. In enemy-held areas, our women refused to move and clung to their land and their people; they gave shelter to underground cadres and liberation fighters and looked after wounded revolutionary soldiers in secret hideouts. Whether thrown in prison or savagely tortured, they remained indomitable. In the cities, women of all walks of life, religions and political convictions stand up for independence and peace, for woman's dignity and right to live, and courageously opposed enemy repression. In the liberated area, the women strove to push production work forward, to promote culture, education and health, to build a new life and to establish the people's power. Many women cadres, splendid representatives of the men and women of South Viet Nam, are in the leading bodies of the revolutionary power. Typical of them is Mrs Nguyen Thi Dinh, President of the Women's Union for the Liberation

of South Viet Nam, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and Deputy Commander of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, whom we are honoured to welcome today at this Congress.

We are infinitely proud of the wonderful achievements of the Southern women who with the rest of the population and armed forces of the South, have brought new lustre to the glorious name of the "Bronze Citadel of the Fatherland" We feel infinite gratitude and love for our blood sisters in the South who for nearly 30 years now have never enjoyed a single day of real peace. They have endured countless sorrows and yet, undaunted, they have continued to fight for the country's independence and freedom. How deeply we in the North are imbued with President Ho Chi Minh's words:

"Viet Nam is one
the Vietnamese people are one.
Rivers may dry up, mountains may erode,
But the people of North and South will forever remain the children of one family".

In the movement to "learn from and emulate the women of the heroic South", we will work and fight still harder and be ready to endure all sacrifices and hardships in order to defend the North and build it into a firm rear base to support the heroic fighting front.

We in the North promise our brothers and sisters in the beloved South that we will struggle with all

our might, side by side with them, to demand that the Americans and the Saigon administration thoroughly implement the Paris Agreement, so that the South can have peace and complete independence and freedom our country can be reunified and the women of North and South reunited.

Comrades Delegates,

The American imperialists used Viet Nam as a testing ground for the strategies and tactics of their aggressive war and for their modern weapons. Our people bear the great responsibility of standing in the frontline of the revolutionary struggle waged by the people of the world against American imperialism to defend national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

In implementing the correct foreign policy of the Party, our Union has helped win the sympathy and support of freedom and peace-loving women all ever the world, of progressive national and international women's organizations, for our people's struggle against US aggression for national salvation. At the same time it has contributed to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress being waged by women all over the world. The Women's International Democratic Federation, consisting of more than 100 women's organizations and hundreds of millions of members, has repeatedly condemned the aggressive US imperialists and their stooges and called on women all over the world to support our people's struggle

against US aggression. In 1969, at the Fifth World Women's Congress held in Helsinki, the Federation launched a fund-raising campaign to enable a Mother and Child Welfare Centre to be built for us.

We are profoundly moved by the great and precious assistance our people's just struggle has received from the women of the Soviet Union, China, and all the fraternal socialist countries. Over the past years, the men and women of the socialist countries have continually encouraged us in our struggle; they have staunchly supported us, in our opposition to US aggression, held meetings and talks, at grass-roots levels, launched fund-raising drives, worked extra hours, and sent precious gifts and their warm greetings to Vietnamese women and children. The various movements of support for Viet Nam — the "120-ton Shipment of Gifts to Vietnamese Women by Soviet women"; the "Anti-US movement in support of Viet Nam" of the Chinese people, to which Chinese women have made an important contribution; the emulation drives of militant solidarity with Viet Nam launched by Cuban men and women in implementation of the statement of Comrade Fidel Castro that "For Viet Nam, we are ready to give our last drop of blood"; the "From the Heart" movement of Polish women; the "Warm Blankets for Vietnamese Children movement of Hungarian women; the "One Kindergarten" movement of Bulgarian women; the "Bicycles, Books, and Toys for Vietnamese Children", movement of the women of the German Democratic Republic; etc. and countless other fine gestures by individuals

and collectives bespeak the unshakable militant solidarity between the women of the socialist countries and those of Viet Nam.

Having endured together a hard struggle against a common enemy, American imperialism, the men and women of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, understand each other even better and are strengthening even more the ties that exist between them in their resolute common struggle against the American imperialists and their stooges. With the impetus of this solidarity, we are confident that the struggle of our three peoples, although still beset with difficulties, will certainly and in glorious victory.

We feel deep gratitude for the activities of Asian, African and Latin America women in support of Viet Nam, for the declarations of support from our Algerian, Syrian, and Palestinian friends, of the meetings and demonstrations held by women in India, Bangladesh and other countries in condemnation of the American aggressors, for the militant letters of support from the women of the Congo (B), Mali, Angola, Guinea Bisseau, Chile, Peru, Costa Rica, Argentina, etc. How moved we are by the "Vigils for Peace", the "100 million-franc Shipment" from French men and women, the collecting by French women of gifts for Vietnamese children last Tet, the strikes and demonstrations of tens of millions of Japanese men and women, the "100 million Yen" movement of Japanese mothers, the blood donation movements in Britain and Italy, the many-sided activities of support of women in Sweden, West

Germany, Finland, Canada etc., "Save Our Sons" movement of Australian women opposing the sending of Australian soldiers to Viet Nam, the anti-war movement of the progressive organizations of American women who oppose the sending of their menfolk to the war in Viet Nam, etc.

On behalf of all the women of Viet Nam, our Congress sincerely thanks the Women's International Democratic Federation for its active support for the Vietnamese people's struggle, the women of the socialist countries for their great and precious assistance, the women of the countries that have sent delegates to this Congress, and all peace-freedom, and justice-loving women in the world, including progressive American women. The women of Viet Nam pledge to strengthen their ties of solidarity and friendship with women of other countries in order to struggle for the defence of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Comrades Delegates,

Looking back over the past years, we feel very proud of the fact that the women's movement has developed in a variety of ways and has made a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of our nation.

The successes scored by the women's movement spring from the correct revolutionary line of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, and its policy on women's work. They are also due to the excellent nature of socialism in the North, the concern shown by all

branches and state bodies and the zealous activities of the Viet Nam Women's Union and women cadres in all branches.

However, in spite of such great and historically significant progress, the women's movement still has weaknesses and shortcomings:

1. The sense of collective mastery, the cultural, professional and technical levels of women have not fully kept pace with the requirements of the revolution.

Owing to the influence of the old regime, to the effects of the atrocious war, to the fact that our work in education and training has been neither comprehensive nor systematic, and to the still inadequate efforts of women themselves, women's sense of collective mastery has not been truly high. Labour discipline and diligence are still inadequate, labour productivity is still low, and public property and State regulations are still not properly respected.

Women's cultural, professional, and technical levels are still low, as is their level of proficiency in economic management. They have not yet shown a truly strong and constant resolve to better themselves through study. Recently, there have been signs of a reemergence of superstitious and backward practices.

2. The women still suffer inadequate living and working conditions. Their health is not yet adequately cared for.

As a result of the savage and protracted American war of aggression and of repeated natural calamities, and while our economy remains weak the

people's living conditions are still difficult. This situation bears especially heavily on women, particularly in matters of their health, families and children. Besides, organization, management, utilization of, and concern for, women's labour still leave much to be desired in many areas. A number of rules and regulations have not been fully implemented. Not enough attention has been paid to improving the living conditions and equipment of working women. Mother and child welfare, and care for women's health, are unevenly carried out. The birth rate is too high. This has a bad influence on women's health, and family happiness, and hampers their progress in all fields.

The law on marriage and the family is still being infringed. In some cases, violations of women's democratic rights and their right to a happy marriage have not been dealt with in time.

3. Organisation, leadership and guidance by Union bodies at various levels have not kept pace with the growing women's movement.

The Union has adopted such correct policies as the launching of the "Three Responsibilities" movement, educating women in socialist morality, looking after the interests of women and children etc. However, the functions and spheres of activity of the Union in the application of each policy have not been clearly defined. There have been noteworthy examples in various localities and branches but the Union bodies at central and other levels have not adequately studied and popularised them.

Organization, leadership and guidance by Union bodies at various levels still bear too much of an administrative character and fail to fully relate to the feelings and aspirations of the masses of women. In many places Union bodies have not regularly reported the situation of women to the Party authorities, nor made the necessary suggestions. The co ordination between them and the various branches has improved, but it is still not systematic and constant. Although more and more women are working in the various services, little help has been given them to promote the women's Union, the trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union has been limited with regard to the education of women workers and State employees and concern for their interests.

The women's movement has made much progress, but the machinery of the Union and its cadres is not yet equal to its tasks. The executive committees at the various levels cannot yet claim to be truly representative of the broad masses of women engaged in production work and combat activities in every field.

The above shortcomings spring from many causes. There are objective causes born of the American war of aggression and the low level of our economy. But we must pay attention to the subjective causes resulting from inadequacies in our own organization and guidance. The Party's line and its policies concerning women's work and the content of it have not been thoroughly grasped in all branches and at all levels. The organization and guidance by Union

authorities at all levels is still inadequate, and so are the efforts made by women cadres and the masses of the women. To solve these important problems we should work out, as a matter of urgency, ways to fulfil the great tasks facing us in the new revolutionary stage.

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Comrades Delegates,

From the many-sided realities of the Vietnamese women's movement, we can draw the following lessons :

1. In order to mobilize and bring into full play the potentialities of women of all walks of life with a view to serving the revolution, the movement should be developed in such a way as to meet the requirements of the revolution and to conform to the special characteristics and aspirations of women.

Over the past period, our Union has launched enthusiastic revolutionary movements among women as positive contributions to the general movement. The "five goods" movement, in which the women are encouraged to engage in productive work, practise thrift, and are given guidance concerning family life and child rearing, fully conforms to the requirements of the revolution and the tasks of women in the initial stage of socialist construction. The "Three Responsibilities" movement meets the needs of the two strategic tasks : to struggle against American aggression for national salvation, and to build

socialism. It intensifies women's traditional patriotism and love of labour while stimulating their spirit of self-reliance and encouraging them to shoulder State, as well as family, affairs with a view to the realization of equality between the sexes. Hence it has been warmly welcomed by momen and authorities in all branches and at all levels. Experience has shown that, if a movement meets the requirements of the social task while also showing deep concern for the cause of women's emancipation, it will succeed in drawing upon women's thoughts, feelings, traditions and potentialities and in encouraging them to fulfil their revolutionary tasks in the most effective way.

The "Three Responsibilities" movement has been maintained throughout the past eight years, thanks to the active and comprehensive guidelines and measures that we have adopted. Directive № 99, dated June 8, 1965, of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee laid down the following guidelines for the "Three Responsibilities" movement: *"To actively mobilize all the potentialities of women and foster, protect and show concern for their capacity to work in order to raise their effectiveness in revolutionary struggle in a vigorous, continuous and lasting way"*. Practical experience has shown that, when the revolutionary content of the movement is firmly grasped and women are mobilized ideologically and led into revolutionary action in a well organized way, and when concern is shown for the improvement of their health and living conditions, the raising of their cultural level and the protection

of their interests, then the movement displays vigorous and continuons progress. On the other hand, if women are urged to work productively and to fight the enemy but are not given much help in overcoming obstacles and difficulties, then their enthusiasm is dampened and results are restricted.

While we have set ourselves the guideline of adapting our actions in the "Three Responsibilities" movement to particular audiences and particular periods, in fact we have not always done so. Hence, in various places and at various times, the movement has not been properly associated with the economic and technical tasks of each branch and the special characteristics of each age group, and has therefore not fully conformed to the task of economic rehabilitation and development since the enemy was forced to stop his bombing of the North. Practical experience has shown that it is not enough to propagate a slogan and launch a general movement; such a movement must be able to adapt itself to any change in audience or in situation.

2. To promote the role and influence of the Union in educating, mobilizing and organising women for the fulfilment of the political tasks set by the Party and in representing the interests and aspirations of women of all walks of life.

Over the past years, under the leadership of the Party, the Viet Nam Women's Union has brought together women of all walks of life and educated and mobilized them for the fulfilment of the political tasks set by the Party. At the same time it

has represented their interests and aspirations, and sent ideas and suggestions to the Party and the State. Consequently, it has become a political organisation with profound and widespread influence and prestige and one which provides support and assistance for the administration and the Party.

The Union has firmly upheld its political tasks and thoroughly grasped the Party's line on the work of women; and it has at the same time maintained its contact with the broad masses of women in order to understand their needs and aspirations. It has initiated judicious policies and movements that answer the requirements of the revolution while also taking into full account the feelings and wishes of women: for instance, the "Five Goods" and "Three Responsibilities" movements, the "Moral Education of the New Woman" policy, etc.

The Union has made full use of its role as an assistant to the Party in the study and setting forth of the orientations and tasks of the work of women so as to ensure that such work is well suited to each stage. It has helped Party authorities at all levels in the fulfilment of Party resolutions on women's work, and has waged a resolute struggle against all vestiges of neglect and of disregard for women.

The Union's organization, from central to grass-roots levels, ensures that women work hard for the realization of the Party's policies and the State plans. The Union's cadres, trained and tempered by two protracted wars of resistance, have accumulated a wealth of experience; they have maintained close ties with the mass movement and displayed great

zeal in working for the emancipation of women. In particular, cadres at grassroots levels have conducted themselves in an exemplary way; they have volunteered for all kinds of tasks, both in productive work and in support work for the armed forces. They have worked hard and with perseverance among the masses, patiently seeking to understand the thoughts and feelings of each family and individual so as to train them to fulfil their tasks while also helping them to overcome all difficulties and obstacles. Hence they have gained women's affection and confidence.

Thanks to the favourable conditions created by the State, the Union working in coordination with State bodies, has been able to look after the interests of women and children. Over the past years, the Union's Central Committee, together with all relevant branches, have devised and recommended to the National Assembly and the Government rules and regulations concerning the work of women, the training of women cadres, the welfare of mothers and children. etc. Union authorities at all levels have participated in supervising the implementation of these rules and regulations; they have pointed to irregularities and shortcomings participated in arbitration at very basic levels, and struggled against all violations of the Law on Marriage and the Family.

In some places, Union authorities, in their work among women, have altered their work style so as to coordinate their actions with those of State bodies. The State apparatus manages all facets of

productive work and social life and it aiso has charge of the promotion of the various interests of women. Experience has shown that, whenever Union authorities have studied concrete problems in coordination with the State authorities and made full use of women cadres in all branches, then work has been effective. On the other hand, whenever they follow the beaten track and confine their activities within in the Union apparatus, results are limited.

3. To train and develop women cadres to fulfil the overall requirements of the revolution and to premote the women's movement.

As a result of the growth of the "Three Responsibilities" movement, there have emerged outstanding women in all fields of activity. In good time the Union proposed to the Party a Resolution on Women Cadres' Work. which has since made it possible to build up a large army of women cadres for work in every field. The fast growth of this army has helped strengthen the ranks of Party and State cadres in general while also boosting the Women's movement and the cause of women's emancipation. Experience has proved that women cadres can greatly help the leadership understand the feelings and aspirations of women, and that they can suggest and supervise adequate measures for mobilising women in production and other work.

However, it has become evident that, in order to further improve the role and influence of women cadres, one must also solve many related problems, as women cadres often encounter difficulties arising from their health and family conditions.

as well as from the lingering habits and customs of the old society. Recently, in the difficult conditions of the war, the women as a whole worked hard. However, we failed to work out truly concrete measures to train and develop women cadres and to make rational use of them. In addition, a number of them failed to make the necessary effort. That is why they achieved only limited results. The training and developing of competent and able women cadres is a decisive question. We must work out policies and adopt measures which will allow them to attend full time residential training courses. In their everyday work too, they should have the benefit of effective help and detailed guidance. At the same time, attention should be paid to their moral training and behaviour. For their part, women cadres must be fully conscious of their responsibility towards the cause of women's emancipation ; they must strive to overcome all obstacles and ceaselessly seek to raise their standards ; and they must be modest and prepared to learn from the masses. Cadres engaged in mass work should study hard to raise their levels in general education, science, technique and economic management. Scientific and technical cadres, as well as those engaged in economic management, should coordinate their professional activities with their mass work and, in particular, should maintain close ties with the women's movement. In the utilisation of women cadres, full account must be taken of their individual characteristics with a view to a rational division of work ; they must be helped with their various

problems, so that they can work effectively and for many years.

However, the promotion of women to positions of leadership and management poses new problems which are beset with difficulties. The vestiges of feudal ideology in our society are still numerous. We must persuade people that the interests of the revolution call for a large number of women cadres, so that women cadres can receive full and unanimous support.

We must draw timely lessons from practical experience, seek to grasp even more fully the Party's guidelines and policies on women's work, carry out careful studies and make all necessary complementary suggestions on concrete problems, so as to continually strengthen the ranks of the women cadres and thus answer the growing needs of the revolution in the new stage.

4. The leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party is the decisive factor in all successes of the women's movement and of the cause of women's emancipation.

The successes recorded by the women's movement over the past period cannot be separated from the judicious line of our Party in leading the Vietnamese revolution. They result from the implementation of the Party's line on women's work.

The Party Central Committee has issued many directives and adopted many resolutions which clearly demonstrate the fact that the emancipation of women is closely related to their mobilization and participation in the struggle against American

aggression for national salvation, and in the building of socialism, in accordance with the requirements of each stage of the revolution.

In 1965, after the war had spread throughout the entire country, the Party Central Committee issued Directive 99 on the content of the "Three responsibilities" movement: to mobilize women to "protect and promote production TO SERVE THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE RESISTANCE". It laid down this guideline: *"To mobilize, protect and foster* the working power of women". It entrusted Party and State authorities at all levels with the task of creating all the neccessary conditions for the women's movement to develop vigorously. In 1967, in order to give further impetus to the women's movement to enable it to cope with the growing requirements of the resistance to American aggression, the Party Central Committee simultaneously issued Resolutions 152 and 153. Summing up the work of mobilizing women, the Party set great store by the role and position of women in the revolution and stated that the cause of women's emancipation is *"a strategic problem in the entire mass work of the Party... a problem of State policy"* Closely bound up with the triple revolution. It declared policies and guidelines, laid down regulations on women cadres' work and outlined the precise responsibilities of Party authorities and State bodies at each level and in each branch regarding the implementation of the Party's line on women's work. At the same time the Government Council adopted Resolution 31 which outlined principles,

policies and regulations concerning women's labour in the State sector of the economy. This resolution met the needs arising from the rapid increase in women workers and State employees. In 1971, the Party Central Committee summarised the work of women at all levels and adopted a resolution which called for a strong fillip to be given to this work in view of the new tasks.

Under the close guidance of the Central Committee, the above directives and resolutions were firmly grasped throughout the Party and brought about a sharp change in the assessment of the role and potentialities of women in the revolution. They encouraged women in their efforts, strengthened their faith, and increased the concern of State authorities at all levels for developing women's capabilities and taking care of the living conditions and interests of them and their children. Due to the superiority of the socialist regime and the implementation of the directives and resolutions of the Party, our State has created all the necessary conditions for promoting the cause of women's emancipation. The Government has laid down many rules and regulations and adopted concrete measures aimed at promoting the role of women's labour in the State economic sector, upgrading the part played by women in production, social activities, economic management and State administration, developing mother and child welfare services, and protecting the interests of women at home and in society at large. The lives of women and children have changed radically since the old regime. These achieve-

ments, recorded against a background of wartime conditions and an economy which is still weak, reveal the very great concern of the Party and the State for the cause of women's emancipation.

As a result of the tremendous victories of the revolution and of the great changes occurring in the lives of our women and their families, all our women have become deeply conscious of the fact that the cause of women's emancipation is closely bound up with that of national liberation, class liberation and the socialist revolution. Thus they have great love for and confidence in the vanguard Party, and gratitude for the immense services rendered by our beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh. The Party's leadership is, and will always remain, the decisive factor in all successes of the women's movement and of the cause of women's emancipation. We firmly believe that only our Party, the Party of the working class, and only our socialist State, a state born of the peoples for the people, are concerned about creating conditions for our women to attain equality with men and mastery of the country. The women of Viet Nam pledge themselves to implement the Party's line and policies, and always to struggle under the banner of the glorious Viet Nam workers' Party. They pledge themselves to devote all their efforts to defending national independence and freedom, and to safeguarding the socialist regime which has emancipated them and created all the necessary conditions

for them to fully develop their capabilities and build a prosperous and happy life.

Comrades Delegates

The growth of the women's movement since the Third National Congress has been tremendous and has assumed historic significance. As rightly pointed out in the Report summing up the work of the Party among women, dated February 1971, the women's movement over recent years is "*a continuation of the women's movement over the past 40 years under the leadership of the Party, and represents a new, important advance, expressing great maturity. This is a period when our women have stood up and struggled more vigorously and valiantly than ever before in our national history*".

The revolution in our country has now entered a new stage in which the balance of forces is more than ever to our advantage. As a result of the successes achieved in both zones of the country, the strength and position of the Vietnamese revolution have grown ever more powerful. However, our people still have difficult tasks to face. We are confident that, on the basis of recent successes and experiences, all our women will be imbued with revolutionary heroism and the spirit of the "Three Responsibilities" movement; they will overcome all trials and, along side all our people, will struggle for independence, freedom, socialism and the cause of women's emancipation until complete victory is achieved.

PART TWO

ORIENTATION AND TASKS OF THE VIET NAM WOMEN'S UNION IN THE NEW STAGE

Comrades Delegates,

The great victory of the war of resistance against American aggression for national salvation has taken the Vietnamese revolution into a new stage. After a year of struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, our people have recorded very important successes.

However, the American imperialists have stubbornly tried to carry out the "Nixon doctrine" in Viet Nam and Indochina. They have not only tried by all possible means to impose neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam and to bring about a permanent partition of our country, but they have also threatened to use force against North Viet Nam and resorted to diplomatic and economic schemes aimed at checking the revolutionary movement in Viet Nam and Indochina.

Our people must carry on two strategic tasks simultaneously: to build socialism in the North and to struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution in the South and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The socialist North is the revolutionary base for the whole country. The tremendous vitality of its regime has been proved: it has overcome the trials of war and made a very important contribution to the great victory of the war of resistance against

American aggression, for national salvation. However, we must bear in mind the following facts: our economy was a very backward one, based on small production; we had hardly started to strengthen it when the war came and drastically weakened it; as a result, the social productive forces and people's living standards are still low.

In order for the North to continue its advance towards socialism and its assistance to the revolution in the South, we must boost socialist industrialisation and continue with the triple revolution (revolution in the relations of production of production, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution), of which the technical revolution is the keystone, so that our country's industry and agriculture can be modernised and its science and technology advanced.

The resolution adopted at the 22nd Plenum of the Party's Central Committee sets the following tasks for the North in the new stage: *"To unite the whole people, struggle to ensure peace, strive to carry out socialist industrialisation, boost the triple revolution, build up the North and ensure its fast, vigorous and steady advance to socialism; to combine economic construction with national defence, heighten vigilance, and stand ready to foil all schemes of the American imperialists and their stooges; to strive to fulfil its duty in the revolutionary struggle aimed at completing independence and democracy in the South and progressing towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland;*

to fulfil its internationalist duty with regard to the revolution in Laos and Cambodia".

In the two years 1974-1975, the tasks of the North are: *"To quickly heal the wounds of war, strive to rehabilitate and develop the economy, promote culture, continue to build the material and technical bases of socialism, consolidate socialist relations of production in every respect, stabilize the economic situation and the people's living conditions; to strenghthen national defence and provide all-out assistance to our compatriots in the South in their revolutionary struggle and their building of the liberated area".*

At its fourth session, the Fourth National Assembly approved the orientation and tasks for economic rehabilitation and development and for cultural development during the two years 1974-1975, and recommended the launching of an emulation drive in productive labour, thrift and diligence with a view to building socialism.

Our women play a very important role in the triple revolution, in the emulation drive for productive labour, and in the contribution to the revolutionary cause of the South. At the same time they have the very important function of organizing family life, raising the children training the new man, and creating a new life.

These great revolutionary tasks require from women a vigorous growth of ideological awareness and serious efforts to raise their standards and capabilities, and also call for continued emphasis on the problem of their emancipation. Meanwhile,

the development in scope and depth of the triple revolution will create conditions that will make it easier for our women to increasingly realize their mastery in economic and social fields and their equality with men in every respect.

The tasks of the new revolutionary stage are not only urgent requirements for the fatherland and society, in general but will also fulfil the eager aspirations of women. That is why, full of faith and fervour, we women are resolved to bring into full play our "Three Responsibilities" spirit, to accomplish our new tasks, to give them a new content and to act upon this motto : *"Let's be good at shouldering both public and family affairs, let's strive to realize equality with men"*.

Being both a women's and a mass organization, the Viet Nam Women's Union has the task of carefully studying the particular characteristics of women in order to educate and mobilize them to fulfil the tasks set by the Party and the State. Together with the State, it must look after women's interests in all fields and promote the emancipation of women and the realization of equality between the sexes. It must be fully aware of its responsibilities in the task of liberating women, and especially of the need to help them solve various problems and give them assistance and guidance in organizing family life and raising children.

The orientation and tasks of the Viet Nam Women's Union in the new stage consist of the following : *"To educate women of all walks of life, heighten their patriotism, love of socialism, and*

solidarity, vigorously promote revolutionary heroism and the "Three Responsibilities" spirit, urge women to join the emulation drive in productive labour, thrift and diligence for the building of socialism, and to carry out the triple revolution; to look after the interests, living conditions and health of women and children, help women solve the difficulties they encounter in their family lives and in bringing up their children, create favourable conditions for them to realize equality with men at home and in society at large; together with the women and men of the South, to struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement, the completion of the national democratic revolution in the South, and the advance towards the peaceful reunification of the country; to strengthen militant solidarity with the women of Laos and Cambodia, and to increase solidarity and friendship with women all over the world in the struggle to safeguard peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

CONCRETE TASKS

I. TO EDUCATE AND TRAIN THE SOCIALIST WOMAN WHO WILL FULFIL HER DUTIES TO THE FATHERLAND, TO SOCIETY, AND TO HER FAMILY

The Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause makes great demands in the education and training of the new woman. The women of Viet Nam have inherited fine traditions and are endowed with great capabilities. However, in many respects, they

have suffered the most prolonged effects from the old regime. For them to advance vigorously and fulfil their duties to the fatherland, to society and to their families, the education and training of socialist women must assume primary importance.

— We must make them fully aware of the efforts and successes of our State and people and also of our difficulties and advantages in the economic field, so that their sense of responsibility with regard to the common revolutionary cause can be heightened. We must imbue them with revolutionary heroism, patriotism, love of socialism, revolutionary vigilance, and readiness to join with the whole people to smash all propaganda schemes of psychological warfare and all machinations of sabotage of the American imperialists and their stooges. We must continue to strengthen their resolve to overcome all obstacles and achieve complete victory for the fatherland and for socialism.

— We must raise women's socialist consciousness. We must educate them and make them clearly understand that a socialist revolution is the most complete and the most radical revolution; that it is a long and hard struggle; and that, only by successfully building socialism, can conditions be created for the radical emancipation of the women. Hence, women must be deeply attached to the building of socialism. They must realize that their own interests are closely related to those of the new regime and to the development of the national economy, and so contribute their voluntary and creative labour to the building of

the new society. The socialist woman struggles uncompromisingly against all vestiges of non-proletarian ideologies, and againt the bad customs and habits of the old society; she struggles to erase the mentality and habits of small production, tempers herself in the working class spirit of collective mastery, constantly thinks and acts for the sake of the interests of the whole of society, displays sincere solidarity with, and affection for other women, readily giving them assistance.

— We must foster and develop women's self-reliance and determination to advance; imbue them with determination to overcome difficulties and raise their cultural, professional, scientific, technical and managerial capabilities; help them to understand that studying is not only a duty aimed at meeting the ever growing requirements of the revolution and serving the creation of an independent and sovereign economy, but is also the treasured right of every woman and an absolute condition for effecting equality between the sexes.

— We must educate women and give them guidance in the fulfilling of their maternal responsibilities. President Ho Chi Minh said: "*The training and education of future revolutionary generations is not only of great importance but a necessity*"

The mother is the first person to teach her child and communicate revolutionary feelings to him; she plays a very important role in the ideological and cultural revolution and in fostering the future generations that will carry on the revolutionary cause of our Party. We must help mothers to fully

realize their great responsibilities so that they will make every effort to set a good example to their children. Together with other bodies, the Union will help them acquire the necessary knowledge and methods in child rearing so that they can combine their efforts with those of the school and mass organizations to bring up the socialist man to fulfil the needs of the new society.

— Our young women are full of vitality and zeal. They dare to think and to act. They have acquired some education and can quickly assimilate science and techniques. It is the responsibility of the Union to look after them and enhance their vanguard role in the women's movement. In coordination with the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, the Women's Union must seek to foster their resolve to advance towards full equality with men, and must give them guidance in organizing their new lives.

The socialist women will emerge in the movement for productive labour and for the consolidation of the new relations of production, thanks to women's efforts to raise their standards and struggle against vestiges of the ideologies of the old society such as contempt for women and disregard for their right to participate in the collective mastery of society and to obtain equality with men. Women themselves must strive to overcome all negative emotions of resignation, inferiority, dependence etc., as well as any tendency to pay too much attention to their own private lives and too little to public affairs, etc.

The Union must move closer to the productive bases and to every street, village, hamlet and house-

hold. It must try to find out the wishes and aspirations of women. It must educate and encourage women members of the families of war martyrs, war invalids and soldiers, and all other women with difficulties. Education should be diverse and informal and adapted for each region and group. Full use should be made of art and literature, as well as of such education and propaganda media as radio broadcasts, press publications, books, etc... Timely commendations and rewards should be given to collectives and individuals, who have scored brilliant achievements. The Union must combine its efforts with those of the propaganda, education, information, and cultural services of the Party, the State, the trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union in order to follow closely the orientation and content of the education of women throughout the task of training the socialist woman, and so that the viewpoints and ideas of the Party concerning the emancipation of women may be carried into effect in the cultural and moral life of society.

II. TO MOBILIZE WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EMULATION MOVEMENT TO PRODUCE, WORK, AND BUILD SOCIALISM WITH INDUSTRY AND THRIFT, TO SUCCESSFULLY FULFIL THE TASK OF ECONOMIC REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT :

In order to heal the wounds of war, to rehabilitate and develop the economy, to give aid to South Viet Nam, to improve the people's living conditions

and to start accumulating funds for socialist construction, the most important tasks at the present time are to make full use of all sources of social labour, to raise labour productivity and to create more social wealth.

Vietnamese women are traditionally industrious and thrifty and are an important part of our workforce. But, in view of their special characteristics and family duties, we must thoroughly understand the guide-line: "Mobilization of women's capacity for work should be accompanied by the fostering and protection of their working power so as to promote their revolutionary potentialities in a steady, continuous and lasting way". The Union must coordinate its efforts with those of other bodies in mobilizing and creating favourable conditions for our women to take an active part in the emulation movement to produce, work, and build socialism with industry and thrift, with a view to raising labour productivity and the quality of products, cutting down production costs, and overfulfilling the State plan in all respects.

Women workers and employees should work the prescribed number of day, master their trades, strive to rationalise production, improve their technique, achieve the set quotas, and obtain high labour productivity and economic efficiency.

Women in handicrafts should fulfil the plans of production of their cooperatives, observe labour discipline, economise on raw materials, protect public property, and raise the quality of their products.

Women peasants should abide by the directives of the production plans of the State and of the cooperatives, do their best to increase their number of working days, actively apply the technique of intensive cultivation to raise crop yields, develop their side-line occupations in the right direction so as to improve their own living conditions and increase the income of the cooperatives. Women peasants should also help meet the increasing need for foodstuffs, gradually and steadily moving from small-scale agricultural production to large-scale socialist production.

Women scientists and technicians should strive to overcome any difficulties they encounter in their work, keep in close contact with what is happening in production and in society at large, and carry out studies to devise ways of applying achievements in science and techniques to the practical situation of our country.

Women employed in various community services and administrative and professional bodies should enhance their sense of responsibility, raise their qualifications, improve their organization and working style, observe all rules and regulations and take better care of the spiritual and material life of society.

Small traders and housewives should be fully aware of the fact that labour is the duty of every citizen; they should actively engage in collective production or in service work and observe the policies of the Party and the laws of the State.

In helping to boost the movement for productive labour, the Union does not undertake economic and technical guidance as an economic management body but functions as a mass organization in the following fields and with the following aims:

— to educate our women and make them understand that collective labour is the noblest of duties and the right of every citizen — it is the fundamental right of women and an absolute condition for the realisation of their equality with men; to infuse them with zeal, diligence, and a sense of organization and discipline; to enhance the virtues of industry and thrift of Vietnamese women, urging them to practise thrift in production and consumption; to organize and mobilize women to oppose idleness, cupidity, waste, and embezzlement.

— To encourage women to make full use of their right to participate in collective mastery and the consolidation of socialist relations of production, and to fight against any unlawful act or any encroachment upon the property of the State or the collective. In order to promote the people's rights to collective mastery, the rules concerning the organization and activities of the Government Council have laid down principles for the relationship between the Government Council and mass organizations, including the Viet Nam Women's Union.

Based on these principles, Union authorities at all levels should gather the opinions of women and pass them on to the responsible offices and branches; contribute ideas for the elaboration and implementation of State plans from central to grass-

roots levels; give due attention to all problems relating to women.

— The Union should coordinate its efforts with those of other responsible bodies in the controlling and supervision of the application of existing rules and regulations concerning women workers. It should study and recommend policies and measures which will create favourable conditions for women to engage in productive labour and work successfully, and should pay particular attention to the newly-developed and mountain regions. Emphasis should be laid on such problems as the organization and use of women's labour, their education and training the protection of their labour, the improvement of their equipment the application of the principle of distributing income acoording to work done, and care for the health and living conditions of women and children. Periodically, in coordination with other bodies, the Union should thoroughly examine and inspect a number of the more urgent problems, and recommend practical policies and measures in order to co-operate with State organs in looking after the interests, living conditions and health of women and children.

Women not only work outside the home, but also inside it, caring for, their children and their households. Moreover, after many years of fierce war, our women and children are facing many difficulties in their health and living conditions which are hampering their revolutionary capabilities. Therefore, the resolving of such imperative problems as health protection, sufficient food and housing,

organization of family life, education of children etc, is a vital part of the continued struggle for the liberation of women, a struggle which reflects the superiority of our regime. These are also problems, for society at large as they are closely related to economic rehabilitation and development, but our Party and State are well aware of them and they have entrusted their solution to many responsible branches. However, the current state of our economy has prevented us from solving a variety of problems simultaneously. We must make our women clearly understand that, in the first stage of socialist industrialisation, due to the fact that our economy is poor and backward, we will inevitably have to bear some immediate privations in order to have funds available for the expansion of production and the fundamental continued improvement of living standards.

A special function of the Union is to attend to the emancipation of women. We must be particularly careful to ensure that it is effected in the best possible way and with the coordination of other branches, so that women are provided with favourable working conditions. In coordination with other branches, the Union should control the implementation of, and propose amendments to, all policies and regulations concerning the interests of women and children. Particular attention should be given to regions heavily devastated by the war and to mountain regions. The Union must also try to ensure that the Party's policies and regulations and the Government's are strictly observed and main-

tained by our women. It should also enhance their spirit of self-reliance and independence, as well as their readiness to participate in mutual assistance and to organize their lives in an econominal and rational way.

In the coming years, the Union will cooperate with various government offices to deal with the following urgent problems:

— First of all, it is necessary to take care of the women members of families of war invalids, war martyrs and soldiers, and to look after orphans and women war victims, war invalids, demobilized soldiers and members of the youth shock brigade. The different levels of the Union, and especially the grassroots level, should try to find out the feelings and needs of women. They should also constantly educate, encourage and help women and their children by engaging the active assistance of the Association of Combatants' Mothers. At the same time the Union should consult with government offices and cooperatives to arrange appropriate jobs for women, in order to help them and their families normalise their living conditions. As well, the Union should work out plans to improve women's capabilities in all fields and create conditions that will enable them to take part in productive labour and social activities.

— The protection of mothers and children is very important in the protection of the work force. It is closely related to the organization of a progressive and happy life for everyone. The Union should persuade women to adopt a rational and wholesome

mode of life, to ensure good sanitary conditions, to take care of themselves when they are pregnant and to apply scientific methods to the rearing of their children. It is also necessary to explain to women and others that birth control is essential for the protection of the health of women and their children, for ensuring happiness in the family, and for creating conditions for women to study and progress. We should mobilise women to actively participate in the construction and management of public welfare services such as kindergartens, infant classes, medical services and such public sanitary establishments as bath rooms, wells, medical centres and maternity homes. Having their children cared for is women's greatest present problem. Therefore, we should cooperate with the services entrusted with the protection of mothers and children to organize different kinds of kindergartens to take care of children, so that conditions are created that will enable mothers to work and study well.

— In order to lighten the burden of family care, we should develop and improve the quality of such public services as canteens, the sale of processed and semi-processed foodstuffs, the public service teams in each street and the distribution of goods aimed at helping the consumer. Moreover, Union authorities at all levels should help women to organize their housework efficiently, to develop a healthy and thrifty life style, to abolish old and backward funeral and wedding customs, etc.

— The question of marriage and the family is closely linked to the morality, emotional life and

happiness of all. But in many respects it is even more important for women, and especially young women. Together with various other offices and organizations, the Union should educate everyone to respect the law on marriage and the family so as to involve the whole society in opposing and criticising any violations of this law. We should help women to understand clearly the revolutionary significance of this law, and that strict observance of it is both their duty and in their best interests. We should also encourage the people to lead happy family lives based on mutual love, respect and assistance. As well, we should cooperate with legal institutions in controlling the application of the law and in formulating necessary amendments or additional stipulations.

IV. TO UNITE WITH OUR SOUTH VIETNAMESE COMPATRIOTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, THE COMPLETION OF INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH VIET NAM, AND THE ADVANCE TOWARDS PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND :

The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam constitutes a political and legal basis for guaranteeing the fundamental national rights of our people and the inalienable right to self-determination of our South Vietnamese compatriots.

Yet the United States is still making every effort to help the Saigon administration undermine the Agreement, to sabotage the ceasefire, to launch continual land-grabbing operations and air raids against the liberated zone. In areas under its control, the Saigon administration has stepped up its police and "pacification" operations in order to repress and terrorize our people, has completely disregarded all democratic liberties, and has refused to return all the civilian personnel still under its detention. It is the sacred responsibility of all our people to struggle against the neo-colonialist and imperialist policies of the U.S. and its henchmen for the implementation of the Agreement, so that a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam can be peacefully reunified.

As our respected and beloved Uncle Ho taught us: *"As long as South Viet Nam is not liberated, our Fatherland is not reunified, and our people do not live in peace and happiness, all of us must continue to devote all our intelligence and energy, and to even sacrifice our lives, to the struggle for the total victory of the revolution."*

We should foster in our women a sense of responsibility and a deep concern for the South Vietnamese Revolution. Armed with this sense of responsibility and united with our whole people we should do our utmost to strengthen and stabilise the North in every respect, so that we can fulfil our obligations to our kith and kin in South Viet Nam. We should be increasingly vigilant and be ready to join with all our people in foiling all enemy schemes of sabo-

tage. Moreover, we should actively encourage our husbands and sons to help strengthen our national defence so as to protect our country and defend peace.

We demand that the United States and the Saigon administration strictly implement all provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. The United States, must call a complete halt to its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam and stop using the Saigon administration in its efforts to undermine peace and the terms of the Agreement. The Saigon administration must immediately effect a complete ceasefire, return all captured and detained civilian personnel and guarantee all democratic freedoms for the people.

Women in the North should launch movements with clearly defined mottoes and activities to support the opposition of our South Vietnamese compatriots to the US and the Saigon administration's violations of the Paris Agreement and the struggle of the women in Saigon-controlled areas for independence, democracy, national concord and better living conditions. We should widely apply various practical forms of North-South sworn brotherhood and extend relations between women in both zones of Viet Nam ; we should assist South Vietnamese women to construct the liberated areas, exchange with them experiences on social and cultural activities, on work among women, on looking after women's and children's heatlh and welfare, on the training and fostering of women cadres, etc...

V. TO INCREASE SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE WOMEN OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The great victory of the Vietnamese people's resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation has brought about important changes in the balance of forces between revolutionary and counter revolutionary forces. between the forces of peace and war. It has exerted a broad and deep influence on the revolutionary struggle of people the world over against imperialism.

Vietnemese women and men clearly realise that the struggle for the consolidation of the victories recorded, for the maintenance of a lasting peace, for the completion of the national democratic revolution in South Viet Nam and for the eventual peaceful reunification of the fatherland, is not only a sacred national duty, but also a noble internationalist obligation. We are resolute in our determination to make positive contributions to the struggle for the defence of world peace waged by the peoples of the world. The Vietnamese Women's Union will extend its international activities to help women throughout the world see through the current manœuvres, and perceive the new crimes of the U.S. imperialists and the Saigon Administration, who have seriously violated the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and sabotaged peace in their attempt to main-

tain neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam and to perpetuate the partition of our country. The Union will also inform our sisters in other countries of the objectives, content, role and position of our people's struggle in relation to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world who are struggling against imperialism for the defence of peace.

Vietnamese women seek to secure the active support of the women from socialist countries, of the W.I.D.F., of other international and national women's organizations, of all peaceloving women, including progressive American women, for our people's struggle to get the US and the Saigon administration to scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and for our efforts to heal the wounds of war, to build up our economy, to defend our country and to strengthen our nation in every respect.

We will continually strive to increase the militant solidarity between the women of Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia in the defence of the independence and national sovereignty of our respective countries, in promoting the prosperity of our countries, and in making Indochina a peaceful region composed of truly independent states. In this way we will contribute to the preservation of peace in South-East Asia and in the world. Vietnamese women are striving to consolidate and develop their solidarity and friendship with the women of the fraternal socialist countries, with a view to helping to defend the socialist camp and strengthen its potential. We will learn from them, and exchange experience with them, in the care of women and children.

We follow with deep sympathy, and warmly support, women's movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America fighting against imperialism, headed by the US, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism and, against the reactionary forces subservient to the imperialists, for national independence and for the defence of national sovereignty. We resolutely support the struggle of the women of Arab countries against the Israeli aggressors, henchmen of US imperialism, for the recovery of the territories illegally occupied by Israel, for the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of the Arab countries, and for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. We strongly condemn the bloody actions of the Chilean fascist military junta, agents of US imperialism, against progressive and democratic organizations, against democrats and patriots. We support the Chilean women's just struggle to overthrow the dictatorial military regime.

We will always remain united with progressive women from capitalist countries, including those in the US and support their struggle against the dictatorship of big capital, against racial discrimination, for better living conditions, democracy, and equality.

As a member of the WIDF, our Union will actively participate in the movement of peace, freedom, and justice-loving women throughout the world who are fighting for a lasting peace, for people's security and for the happiness of women and children everywhere.

VI. TO STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP AND CONSOLIDATE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION, STEP UP THE TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN CADRES AND ENERGETICALLY IMPROVE THE UNION'S MODE OF ACTIVITIES :

Although working among women is a common task for all levels and branches, the role and position of the Vietnamese Women's Union are of special importance. Being a revolutionary mass organization of the Party, and a representative of women's right to participate in collective mastery of society and to have equality with men, the Union has the responsibility of rallying, encouraging and educating women of all walks of life to accomplish the Party's political task and the State's plans. It should participate in the planning of the national economy, control and supervise the implementation of, and make proposals for the elaboration of, the policies and regulations of the State and the Party concerning the interests of women and children, equality between the sexes and the emancipation of women.

Union authorities at all levels should be fully conscious of the role, position and responsibility of the Union in this new stage of the revolution. The Union must quickly strengthen its leadership, consolidate its organization, train and develop women cadres, and improve its mode of activities.

—The Union will rely on the closely united bloc of women workers, collective farmers, and socialist intellectuals to strengthen the unity of all patriotic women who favour socialism and peace, and to

enhance its active role in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and in the Women's International Democratic Federation.

— All executive committees of the Union should be closely associated with women of all walks of life and should be competent in carrying out their duties. They should comprise representatives of women of different occupations: workers, collective farmers and socialist intellectuals. They should also include representatives from branches involved in the protection of women's interests, as well as representatives of the women of national minorities. They should pay due attention to young cadres, scientists, technicians and those who work in the fields of economic management and State administration.

The Union should elaborate an overall plan for the training and development of its cadres. The cadres of the Union should have a correct ideological stand and a good grasp of the lines and policies of the Party and the laws of the State. They should know how to mobilize the masses and have reasonable knowledge of economic management and technology. The Union should consolidate its schools to meet the requirements of the training and development of cadres in the current situation. It should train staunch leading cadres for work at provincial, district and grassroots levels. Moreover, it should realize that the women cadres working in the various branches constitute a very important force, since they are able to understand and to solve the problems of women in their respective branches.

The Union should try to find out the wishes and opinions of its members and, in collaboration with other bodies, should work out plans to assist its members in every way and to enhance their role in their general work as well as in their work among women.

The mode of activities of the Union should be greatly improved to meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks. The Union should combine vertical direction with horizontal coordination and consolidate its whole organizational system. If this is done, the Union will be able to find out the wishes and opinions of its members, to study problems relating to women and children and to recommend to the appropriate bodies solutions to these problems and effective ways of educating and encouraging women and of creating favourable conditions for them to work efficiently in society and in the family.

The Union should strengthen its organization and give close and detailed guidance. The Union authorities at all levels should study the principles, duties and prerogatives stipulated in the Union's Constitution in order to apply them in practice. The activities of the Union should be practical and effective. A given policy should always be accompinied by measures of organization and guidance to ensure its implementation in line with its aims and the conditions of the area where it is being applied; experiences during each period should be summed up; the Union should concentrate its efforts on carrying out certain main tasks, doing away with perfunctory styles of work that don't yield concrete

results. The Union's machinery should be rearranged in a rational way. There should be a thorough style of work which ensures that the policies of the Union are fully understood by all members. The activities of Union members at grassroots levels should be practical and consistent with the demands and wishes of women. Union members should help one another to fulfil their duties. As the conditions in mountainous areas are particularly difficult, Union authorities there should enlist the support of regional Party Committees and other branches in helping the masses to fully understand the policies of the State and the Union.

In order to cooperate successfully with other branches, the Union should be fully aware of the demands and wishes of women, as well as of the policies of the State. It should entrust particular cadres with the task of thoroughly investigating certain specific problems in cooperation with branches involved in work among women. It should rely on women cadres in various bodies to study and raise problems relating to women and children.

Women workers and employees are not only Trade Union members, but also the core of the Vietnamese Women's Union. In order to enhance their role in the women's movement, the Union should cooperate with the Trade Unions to encourage and educate them to carry out the policies of the Union. The Union should at regular intervals check on the implementation of the Party's resolutions and the State's policies and regulations regarding women workers and employees.

Young women are members not only of the Youth Union but also of the Women's Union. We should therefore cooperate with the Youth Union to educate them and look after their welfare and interests, so that their vanguard role in the women's movement can be developed.

In its work among women, the Union should fulfil its role as an assistant to the Party. It should thoroughly understand the Party's line on work among women, closely follow the situation of the masses, and bring to the Party's attention the problems to be solved in the women's movement. Moreover, it should help the Party Committees, the leadership of all branches, and State organizations, from central to grassroots levels, to thoroughly grasp the Party's line on the women's movement, and oppose all vestiges of feudal and other non-proletarian ideologies, such as contempt for women and disregard for their right to participate in collective mastery.

Comrades Delegates,

The Fourth National Congress of Vietnamese Women marks the end of one period of development in our glorious history and the beginning of a new stage of development in the women's movement and in the emancipation of women in our country.

Over the past 13 years, under the leadership of the glorious Viet Nam Workers' Party and our great President Ho Chi Minh; Vietnamese women, together with our whole people have recorded great achievements in all fields. Although our people's

revolution still remains a protracted and hard struggle, its prospects are excellent. The position and strength of the Vietnamese revolution are constantly growing.

Before leaving us, President Ho recommended to our people throughout the country: "My ultimate wish is that our whole Party and people will remain closely united in the struggle to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution." We Vietnamese women are determined to carry out, together with our whole people, the sacred Testament of our respected and beloved Uncle Ho.

In the revolutionary upsurge that pervades the country, all Vietnamese women promise the Party and the Government that they will devote all their spirit and energy to the successful implementation of the Resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Party's Central Committee regarding the orientations and tasks for economic rehabilitation and development in 1974-1975. We are determined to be as courageous and responsible as possible in our enthusiastic participation in the "emulation movement in productive labour to build up socialism with diligence and thrift" and to thus contribute to the promotion of socialist industrialisation in the North, the completion of the national democratic revolution in the South, and the advance towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

— Long live a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

— Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the organiser and leader of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution!

— Great President Ho will live for ever in our cause!

— Long live the militant solidarity of women throughout the world in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

May all Vietnamese women constantly work for the welfare of their country and families and march forward courageously.

Ha Noi, March 4, 1974

THE DAUNTLESS AND VALIANT SOUTH VIETNAMESE WOMEN ARE RESOLVED TO DRIVE THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AWAY, OVERTHROW THIEU, LIBERATE THE SOUTH AND DEFEND THE NORTH

NGUYỄN THỊ ĐỊNH
PRESIDENT
OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
WOMEN'S UNION FOR LIBERATION

Respected members of the Presidium,

Respected representatives of the Party and the Government,

Esteemed representatives of the Women's International Democratic Federation and of national organisations of women,

Dear delegates.

For the first time in twenty years, a delegation of South Vietnamese women is visiting the North. Our delegation consists of 33 members from various walks of life, of various ages, and from a variety of places from Ca Mau Cape to the Ben Hai River. It includes young women who joined the women's movement only recently, and also grey-haired women who took part in the resistance war against the French colonialists and who are leaders in the patriotic war of resistance against U.S. aggression. We have come to Ha Noi, the heart of the whole country, to attend the Fourth National Congress of Vietnamese Women in the jubilant atmosphere of the first spring after a successful year in healing the wounds of war and economic rehabilition. With great enthusiasm and emotion, I would like to extend, on behalf of the delegation of the South

Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation, our best wishes for the health of delegates and our warmest greetings to the Congress and to the delegation from women's organizations of other countries. We also convey to the men and women of this heroic capital city and of all the beloved North the warm greetings and eternal affection and attachment of your 17 million countrymen in South Viet Nam.

On finally, after so many years, setting foot on the soil of beloved North Viet Nam, we wish to express our immense joy and legitimate pride. For more than a quarter of a century, our entire nation, from north to south, has shed much blood and the reunion today has come only after 20 long years of separation.

But our feelings are mixed. With profound grief, our thoughts go to Uncle Ho, our most beloved father and the great leader of the Vietnamese nation. He constantly led the women's movement in each step forward but, as he is no longer with us, his daughters from the South are unable to hug him or listen to his kind advice.

In the fierce and protracted fight against an extremely cruel and powerful enemy, many countrymen, including combatants and cadres in both zones, have laid down their lives in factories on rice fields, in jungles, in combat trenches, and have enabled us to have this splendid gathering. The merits of those who have fallen are engraved in our hearts and minds and we will educate our children to be eternally grateful and determined to be worthy of their sacrifices.

We wish to express here our profound gratitude to the men and women of the beloved North, to the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, to the National Assembly and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and to the mass organizations, for their whole-hearted support and backing for the patriotic resistance of the South Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.

We are gratified to meet at this Congress outstanding representatives of the "Three Responsibilities" movement, women who are adept at both State and family affairs, who have worked selflessly to build socialism at the same time as staunchly fighting against the two wars of destruction launched by the U.S. imperialists, who have devoted all their energies to the revolutionary cause in South Viet Nam, and who are shouldering the common cause of the nation. We were filled with admiration when we learnt that our sisters in the North organized the fight against the enemy under deluges of bombs, kept their machines operating and continued to grow crops in the fields, saw to it that the requirements with regard to rice and manpower contributions were fully met, and carried out with all their strength and passion the slogans "All for the front", "All for beloved South Viet Nam". It was with profound grief and indignation that we learned over the radio of the crimes of the U.S. aggressors in bombing factories, dikes, dams, schools, hospitals and creches in the North. But, at the same time, we felt great pride and joy over the glorious feats of our sisters, who have added new

lustre to the traditions of Vietnamese women. The militia units of young women who shot down American aircraft with mere rifles, the "sworn-brother" provinces in the North which topped the five-ton-of paddy-per-hectare-per-year mark and the collectives of women workers who lead the field in labour productivity, have all encouraged us to our best in order to be worthy of the immense sacrifices made by our sisters here.

The Fourth Congress of Vietnamese Women, held at a time when the revolutionary struggle of our nation has recorded a great historic victory and entered a new stage, marks a big step forward for the Vietnamese women's movement. We are firmly convinced that the resolutions of the Congress will further encourage the "Three Responsibilities" movement, improve endeavours to eliminate the effects of the aftermath of two wars of destruction, greatly assist in the fulfilment of the task of building a strong socialist North and help shorten the hard struggle of the men and women in the South.

The delegation of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation sincerely wishes the Fourth Congress of Vietnamese Women every success.

Dear delegates,

While in the North, under a socialist regime, our sisters are given every assistance and are eagerly building a new life of independence, freedom and happiness, women in the South have been the unfortunate victims of the most cruel war of aggres-

sion in history, and are compelled to live under a fascist regime, a stooge of US neo-colonialism. As a result of the devastation caused by ten million tons of bombs and more than a million tons of toxic chemicals, many rural areas, once prosperous and verdant, have become wildernesses — not a tree is left standing, and not a man or animal is to be seen. Millions of peasants have been ruined and deprived of their livelihood. Only those who know the extent to which the peasants are attached to their gardens, their fields, their native places, their ancestral tombs, can understand the profound grief and the seething hatred of the women peasant compelled at gunpoint by "pacification" teams to leave their native villages with empty hands and to take their old parents and their children to concentration camps.

In accordance with their policy of making Vietnamese kill Vietnamese and "changing the skin colour of the corpses", the U.S.-Thieu clique have pressganged all men in the 17-43 group. The whole of South Viet Nam has become a huge barracks; millions of families have been split up, with wives being separated from their husbands, and children from their fathers. The enemy has sown division and mutual distrust, enmity and hatred, in each village, each hamlet, and even in families. It is quite common for two brothers born of the same mother to fight on opposing sides — the elder, having achieved revolutionary consciousness, struggling against the U.S. aggressors, and the younger, pressganged into the puppet army, being forced at gun point to kill his

countrymen, and even to shoot his own brother. Consequently many mothers are in torment. In South Viet Nam, millions of mothers and families are undergoing such suffrerings.

By means of an extremely sophisticated intelligence and police network operating in every strategic hamlet, market, bus station, factory, school; workers' residential quarter, etc., and a host of other fascist measures, the US-Thieu clique has kept millions of men and women in their area of control under a harsh regime of coercion and oppression. More than 200,000 patriots, one third of whom are women, have been jailed without trial, ill-treated, tortured, and put to a slow death.

The economic policy of complete dependence on the U.S. along with serious inflation and heavy taxation, have increasingly impoverished people from all walks of life in South Vietnamese towns and cities. The lives of women workers and other poor sections of the community are extremely miserable due to widespread unemployment, low pay and the spiralling prices of everyday necessities. While in the Norh, women workers enjoy equality with men in all fields, and receive holiday pay and maternity leave allowances, our sisters in the South receive only two-thirds of a man's wages for doing the same job. Their dignity has been trampled underfoot and they are under constant threat of losing their jobs because of declining health, childbirth, etc. Their life is an interminable succession of deprivations and anxieties.

U.S. imperialism has also trampled underfoot the moral values of the Vietnamese, such as conjugal fidelity, and women's dignity and chastity. By means of depraved newspapers, books, films, plays, and radio and TV programs, they have advertised the worst aspects of the American way of life. Present day society in South Viet Nam is depraved: social evils like debauchery, gambling, prostitution, vagabondage, robbery, drug addiction, etc, are poisoning the younger generation in the Saigon-controlled areas.

The atrocious war of aggression launched by the US imperialists has had terrible consequences of the men and women of South Viet Nam:

45% of rice-fields left waste,
Half of the forest land devastated,
Over one million war widows,
Half a million orphans, and large numbers of prostitutes
Two million unemployed.

The crimes committed by the U.S. expeditionary corps — aggression, extermination, genocide, ecocide and biocide — are still evident on every inch of South Vietnamese soil, and in the mourning bands worn by the women. The U.S. imperialists must bear full responsibility before the bar of history and human conscience.

After the signing of the Paris Agreement, and at a time when the men and women of South Viet Nam were enthusiastically hailing peace, the Nguyen Van Thiêu clique mobilised almost all of its 13 regular divisions and hundreds of "Civil Guard" brigades to

carry out a so-called plan for "overrunning territory". It opened fire on women peace demonstrators, killing thousands of them. Only a few days after the Agreement was signed, Thieu's troops destroyed more than 100,000 homes in the three provinces of My Tho, Ba Ria and Tay Ninh. Cruel commanders forced Saigon puppet troops to intrude into the contested areas, and burn houses, destroy air raid shelters, demolish schools and hospitals, steal rice and domestic animals, rape women, including old women and girls in their early teens. Their scheme was to terrorise the people and take them to concentration camps, as they did in past "pacification" campaigns.

The Nguyen Van Thiêu administration has brazenly continued to pressgang youths, enlisting even women in the 16-28 age group into the so-called popular defence forces for guard duty in the place of men who are being upgraded to the combat forces. Soldiers have been continually confined to barracks, and demobilization has been prohibited for fear that it might increase their war weariness. Thieu has frustrated the dreams of millions of women who have been longing for the return of their men after the signing of the Paris agreement.

To prevent a popular uprising after the signing of the Agreement, Nguyen Van Thieu has decreed nine emergency measures and enacted sixty fascist laws, which have deprived the people of even the most minimal democratic liberties. Fearing the mass return of people to their old villages, the Saigon puppet administration has forbidden freedom of movement between its own zone and the liberated

area, and blocked access to the latter ; it has ordered the wanton shelling of columns of women breaking away from strategic hamlets to return to their native places. It has taken repressive measures against such progressive organizations as the "Women's movement for the right to live", has jailed without trial such prominent personalities of the third force as Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, Miss Tran Thi Lan, Mrs. Nguyen Long, etc. In spite of the provision in the Paris Agreement concerning the return of all civilian personnel to the Provisional Revolutionary Government, it has brazenly detained more than 200,000 persons in over one thousand prisons, big and small, throughout South Viet Nam. It has also deliberately mixed up the lists of prisoners, moved prisoners from one jail to another, treated them cruelly and subjected them to bloody repression ; and in places such as Can Tho hosts of political detainees have been secretly murdered.

By now, the men and women of South Viet Nam should have enjoyed 13 months of peace, of a secure working life and of freedom to move between the Saigon - and the P.R.G.-controlled zones in mutual understanding and national concord. However, in execution of a long-standing plan of its American bosses, and in defiance of the South Vietnamese people's aspirations, of international law, and of the peace-and justice-loving people of the world, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has stubbornly sabotaged the Paris Agreement, and prolonged the sorrow and grief of millions of families and women in South Viet Nam.

South Vietnamese women, who have inherited the nation's long tradition of indomitable struggle, are seething with hatred for the puppet administration, the stooge of the U.S. imperialists, that has coerced and exploited them and committed endless crimes, including the breaking up of their families and the destruction of their property. They have risen up in a fierce fight against the enemy and have recorded glorious feats.

Thirteen years of patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression have fully demonstrated the role of South Vietnamese women who, whether from the countryside or the towns, represent a powerful force, and one which is resourceful and creative in the political struggle and very courageous and talented in the armed struggle. They have successfully combined these two forms of struggle in their daily lives so as to defend their interests. In our country, the weakest point of the imperialists has always been the rural areas. During the resistance war against the French colonialists, the revolution distributed lands to the peasants, who rose from the depths of misery to become masters of their destiny. When they came to South Viet Nam after the 1954 Geneva Agreement the U.S. neo-colonialists struck at the countryside: they robbed peasants of their lands, took lands from one farmer and turned them over to another, tried to destroy the revolutionary forces, and to terrorise the peasants by various means. And their main victims were women. The 1960 concerted uprising was an uprising of peasants to defend their revolutionary gains. Through mass violence and a three-prong

ed-attack political struggle, work among enemy troops, and armed struggle women together with the other sections of the people, staged repeated demonstrations, besieged hundreds of enemy garrisons and forced them to surrender or to withdraw, and liberated many hamlets and villages. The long-haired army came into being, and grew quickly into a spearhead, striking at the puppet administration at village, district and provincial levels. The tide of concerted uprisings spread rapidly throughout South Viet Nam and swept away the enemy's machine of coercion in the greater part of the countryside.

Confronted with the revolutionary upsurge in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists switched to the "special war" strategy, the backbone of which was the 18-month program for the pacification of the rural areas with the socalled "State policy of strategic hamlets". The South Vietnamese women were the most important force in the countryside in the confrontation with the enemy, and used arguments and force in their opposition to the enemy's attempts to demolish houses and destroy crops. Under the slogan "We will not move an inch from our lands", they held on to their villages. While disputing the ownership of each plot of land and each garden with the enemy, they encouraged their husbands, sons and brothers to join the liberation armed forces, to take weapons from the enemy to fight him, and to build our armed forces. They also conducted guerilla operations to defend their villages, fighting in small-or medium-sized groups with any kind of rudimentary weapon that was available:

booby traps, crossbows, grenades, homemade mines and rifles, etc. Widespread guerilla war compelled the Saigon forces to shrink back into their posts, thus creating conditions for the Liberation Army to fight bigger battles and to smash the enemy's "State policy of strategic hamlets".

In Hue, Saigon, Da Nang and Can Tho, the struggle of workers, students and Buddhists for democracy and a better life, in which women played the biggest role, surged up powerfully, and led to the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem's regime and his Labour and Personalism Party.

In face of the possible collapse of the puppet administration, the U.S. imperialists brought large numbers of U.S. and satellite troops into South Viet Nam. The political struggle of the women grew even more powerful.

In many cases, women barred the way of armoured cars, blocked cannon barrels, and clung to aircraft in their efforts to defend the people's lives and property, and they also hindered and caused delays to enemy military operations. On some occasions, the political force of rural women made simultaneous attacks on 30 provincial towns and 40 district towns throughout South Viet Nam. Minority women in the southernmost part of Central Viet Nam, and those of Khmer extraction in Western Nam Bo, took an active part in the struggle. 30,000 Buddhists and women of Khmer origin fought to preserve Me Lang Pagoda in Tra Vinh against indiscriminate strafing by U.S. aircraft. Hoa Hao women in An Giang opposed the confiscation of lands by

the puppet administration. Our Cao Dai sisters in Tay Ninh defended the Holy See and opposed plans to rearm Caodaists. Catholic women who had been induced to leave North Viet Nam after the signing of the Geneva Agreements also stood up against the enemy, in spite of his attempts to lure them into becoming a political support for the puppet regime: in the Cai San resettlement centre they opposed the demolition of their homes and confiscation of their lands; and 10,000 immates of the Dong Tam camp opposed the pressganging of youths, and demanded that the authorities supply them with rice.

After the U.S. launched its local war, an anti-US tide surged up in South Vietnamese towns and cities. It took various forms, ranging from teach-ins on the protection of women and of national culture, to picketing U.S. information centres, burning American books and papers and beating U.S. soldiers. On May Day, 1966, 20,000 workers, employees, and market vendors demonstrated against the U.S. imperialists' aggression.

The movement culminated in the insurrection of broad masses of the population; they occupied radio-broadcasting stations and paralysed the puppet administrative machine, for 76 days in Da Nang, more than a month in Da Lat, and 28 days in Hue.

U.S. troops were deployed. They launched two dry-season strategic counter-offensives and B. 52 bombers obliterated whole regions of South Viet Nam. The women's movement moved into a new stage and a fierce struggle was conducted against

extermination raids and pacification operations. Penned up by the U.S. puppet clique in concentration camps, called "refugee centres", millions of women waged a fierce struggle to denounce the U.S. imperialists' aggression and the Nguyen Van Thiêu clique's crimes against the people and the nation. They demanded rice and medicines, opposed their classification for repressive purposes by pacification agents, and urged an end to the war so that they could return to their native villages.

Seething with hatred, our sisters progressively learnt how to use various kinds of weapons to destroy U.S. armour and infantry. The female guerilla team of Phu My Hung managed to destroy M. 113's with mines and hand grenades, that of Bac Ai succeeded in shooting down U.S. aircraft at Thanh Son airfield. In Central Trung Bo, tens of thousands of women joined so-called "suicide squads". Before and during the widespread Tet offensive of the year Mau Than (1968), women made up 40% of the militia and guerilla forces. More than 50 platoons or companies were set up, and they fought with great courage; for example, the women gunners' units in Long An and Rach Gia and the female commando unit in Eastern Nam Bo accomplished any exploits. A female unit in Da Nang, using B 40 rifles, put up a victorious resistance against a whole field police battalion. Eleven young women from a self-defence team in Hue, operating in coordination with a regular unit, drove back a U.S. battalion. Self-defence women teams named after heroine Le Thi Rieng made deep thrusts into the centre of Saigon

to kill cruel officials; other female commando teams took part in the attacks on the puppet General Staff and the U.S. embassy.

At the end of 1968, although it had been compelled to sit down at the negotiating table, the US puppet clique launched fierce counter attacks, started an "accelerated pacification" program to tighten their control over the masses, and switched to the "Vietnamisation" strategy. In some places there were two Saigon soldiers for every citizen. Women in the countryside conducted on the spot political struggles against repression, plunder and rape, to defend their lives and property.

Women also constituted a very important force in providing supplies for the front line, especially on the High Plateaux. Following the lofty example of heroine Doan Thi Lien, who laid down her life to protect wounded soldiers, women of various national minorities carried food, ammunition and wounded combatants; they deserved the title of "women combatants with feet of brass and shoulders of iron" as they made effective contributions to the victories of the Liberation Armed Forces.

As the Vietnamisation of the war was stepped up, the U.S. and Thieu clique increased their efforts to pressgang youths and to exploit men and women from all stratas in towns and cities. 1970 and 1971 were two years of extremely fierce Vietnamisation, and also of unremitting struggle by hundreds of thousands of people against the militarisation of

schools, against tax increases, against the "tiger-cage" prison system, and against the one-man election farce of Nguyen Van Thieu, for peace, an end to the war and the withdrawal of American troops.

This was also a period of repeated, and often bloody, struggles by political prisoners for a better penitentiary system, against forcible saluting of the puppet flag, against the "Denounce Communists" campaign, and for punishment of cruel officials: The struggle in August, 1969 by 2,000 women prisoners at Thu Duc jail; the revolt of prisoners on August 23, 1970, also at Thu Duc,; and the persistent, and occasionally fierce, struggle by 100,000 political detainees in Poulo Condor, Chi Hoa, Phu Quoc, Qui Nhon and Thua Phu prison; etc.

Dear delegates,

The strategic offensive started in April, 1972 foiled, in the main, the Vietnamisation strategy. The movement in rural areas made great strides forward. Throughout South Viet Nam, from the Ca Mau coastal area to the demarcation line, women, together with the other sections of the people, stepped up political struggle and armed propaganda among enemy troops, forced a host of enemy garrisons to surrender or to withdraw, swept away the machine of coercion being enacted by cruel tyrants and pacification agents, and liberated many hamlets and villages.

The repeated victories of the armed forces and people in South Viet Nam, along with the glorious

victory of the army and people in the North in the second U.S. war of destruction, especially the B52 strategic strike, compelled the U.S. imperialists to sign the Paris Agreement.

Nevertheless, the U.S. government continues to advise and help the Nguyen Van Thieu clique to prolong the war, to conduct continual land-grabbing and pacification operations, tighten its control of urban populations, and to prevent millions of people from breaking away from the disguised concentration camps to return to their native villages.

However, peace is the eager aspiration of the 17 million men and women in South Viet Nam. No fascist force, no manoeuvre or trick, could have extinguished the wave of enthusiasm that swept town and country when the signing of the Paris Agreement was made public. Our sisters hailed peace in various ways, ranging from small group discussions of the Agreement, chapter by chapter and article by article, to teach-ins and demonstrations to welcome peace and acclaim the great victory of our nation: bells tolled and drums beat in pagodas and temples, and forests of flags of the Provisional Revolutionary Government festooned the countryside and suburban areas. They also managed to turn meetings organised by the puppet administration to distort the facts of the Agreement and slander the PRG and the National Front for Liberation into forums which overtly condemned Nguyen Van Thieu and exposed his violations of the Agreement and his illegal encroachment on the liberated zone.

In the powerful upsurge of the mass movement, our sisters brought down the authority of the puppet rulers, destroyed the fences around strategic hamlets, and rendered ineffective many coercive measures of the enemy. In defiance of the curfew, they went about their business, and refused to enlist in the popular defence forces, to pay taxes, or to paint puppet flags on the walls of their houses. The struggle sometimes took on demonstrative forms. For instance, a mother held a flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government close to her heart, and told the Saigon puppet soldiers who wanted to remove it "So long as my head remains on my shoulders, you cannot possibly take away this flag".

The most enthusiastic movement in the countryside was that of the women who broke away from the puppet-controlled areas and returned to their villages to resume agricultural production. On once waste fields, hundreds, and even thousands, of women have been working every day, and they have now managed, to reclaim virtually all the waste lands. On some days, on Highways Nos. 1 and 20, hundreds of oxen-drawn carts could be seen carrying people and animals back to their native villages. In many villages in the western part of South Viet Nam, the population is even larger than in 1965, in the year when the U.S.-puppet clique started their fierce pacification campaign. In defiance of all the puppet regime's prohibitions, our sisters endeavoured to win the sympathy of Saigon soldiers, isolated and issued warnings to notorious thugs and returned to their native villages. At first, they set up tempor-

ary huts in which to live while they were looking after their fields, but they later built houses and settled down. Firmly determined to cling to their land at all costs, they organized mutual assistance teams to dig shelters to hide their rice and to look after the sick and mothers in child-birth. While conscientiously preparing the way for long-term settlement, they are also ready to fight any enemy attempt to force them to return to concentration camps.

The struggles against pacification operations and forcible relocation were prolonged and fierce ones. Over the past years, many families have been subjected to dozens of attempts at forcible relocation, but each time they have broken away and returned to die on their land rather than be forced away to their villages. Many women who were resolved to choose to live in air raid shelters, where they had to lie on the bare ground. Many mothers fought back the raiders with knives and sticks in order to prevent them from dismantling their houses. At a rally organized at gun-point in Cam Duong village, when the enemy ordered the villagers to dismantle their houses and go to strategic hamlets, under the threat of death if they disobeyed, a mother stood on the enemy mines, and proudly declared: "People die only once. So, if we are to die, we will die here, and not move anywhere. Do you agree ?". Her resolute attitude compelled the enemy to give way.

Burning with anger against the puppet commandos who forced women and children to clear thickets, and who buried alive those cuildren who refused to show them the guerrillas camps, our sisters

conducted resolute struggles against destruction, terror and repression. In accordance with the provisions of the Paris Agreement they refused to allow Saigon soldiers to station in their homes or to establish military posts on their lands. They also claimed back the lands on which Saigon had established military posts. "Peace has been restored. So return our lands to us" they said.

After the October 15, 1973 order was issued by the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, our troops dealt out due punishment to the raiders. Making the most of these victories, our sisters have persuaded Saigon soldiers to take anti-war actions, forced more than 600 garrisons to surrender or to withdraw, captured prisoners and seized arms, as was the case in Western Nam Bo.

Women have been very adept at working among puppet soldiers. They have developed effective arguments in support of the slogan "Let us achieve national concord; let soldiers return to their homes and the people to their old lands" and they have thus been able to appeal to the minds and hearts of Saigon soldiers.

In the first nine months of 1973, our sisters managed to talk Saigon soldiers in thousands of posts into taking a neutral attitude and remaining inactive. In September 1973, 15,000 women of My An district marched in three columns on My Dien to call on Saigon soldiers not to resist; their action combined with that of our troops, repulsed an noslaught by three Saigon regiments and the enemy was forced to withdraw four posts.

There has not only been a steady growth in the rural women's movement against land-grabbing and pacification operations, but also the women's movement in towns and cities has continued to expand, in spite of the variety of fascist measures taken by Nguyen Van Thieu to strangle even the most minimal democratic freedoms. The movement for better living conditions, lower prices for primary necessities, rice supplies, relief for famine victims, and full employment, has involved, in various ways and at various levels, tens of thousands of women workers, small vendors, and public and private employees. It ranges from the great prolonged struggle by broad sections of the people against the tax "on added values" to the general strike by 8,000 railway workers, from the fierce struggles by 50,000 market vendors in Saigon, Can Tho, My Tho and Hue, against forcible removal of their sale stands, and tax increases, to the persistent struggle by 30,000 families in labourer's living quarters against Saigon's threat to demolish their houses, etc. Women and the other people in towns and cities have thus formed a new front, encircling, isolating, and spearheading the struggle against Nguyen Van Thieu, ringleader of the traitorous clique of comprador capitalists.

Everywhere in South Viet Nam, including areas inhabited predominantly by religious sects such as Hoa Hao (An Giang), Cao Dai (Tay Ninh), and Catholics coming from the North (Ho Hai) where the enemy is trying to arm the youth, allegedly "to defend the religion", a persistent struggle has been

conducted against forcible conscription. To stay the bloody hands of Nguyen Van Thiêu, agent of the U.S. war, who is daily sending his men to hunt for youths and in order to defend their loved ones, women in towns and cities have devised many intelligent ways of helping their husbands or sons dodge the draft, and have managed to win support and assistance from all sections of the people.

As active defenders of the ethics of the nation, mothers, women of all walks of life — teachers, students, progressives have organized and attended wholesome art performances and teach-ins on women's dignity, and set up groups of readers of progressive papers and groups of listeners to the Hanoi Radio and the Giai Phong (Liberation) Radio, thus helping to counteract the influence of depraved aspect of U.S. culture.

Throughout the past thirteen years, the women's movement in South Viet Nam has brilliantly achieved effective coordination between political and armed struggle, between the highlands and the plains, between rural and urban areas, between fighters at large and those in prison. It has borne out this truth: in all circumstances, whether under a deluge of enemy bombs, under the yoke of coercion, or even in the shackles of the enemy, South Vietnamese women in their unity have the ability, courage and strength to make full use of their national tradition of dauntless struggle. Guided by the correct political line of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, they skilfully and in varied ways repulse the enemy's every

move, driving him out of position after position, and march forward together with the rest of the people to foil all reactionary U.S.-puppet policies designed to impose neo-colonialism on the South Vietnamese people.

Dear delegates,

The combination of the newly liberated area with the old now forms a single expanse stretching from the Ben Hai river to Ca Mau cape. It includes vast rural areas and a number of towns and townships, and it accounts for two-thirds of the area of South Viet Nam. Millions of families have returned to their old lands and are now able to settle down to stable living conditions. Women make up from 70% to 80% of the labour force.

After the P.R.G., through the Peasants' Association and the Women's Union for Liberation, reallotted lands following the serious disturbance caused by years of intensive "pacification", our sisters organized mutual aid groups and worked hard to restore cultivation. Now 80%, and in some places 100% of the lands are now being cultivated again.

In the newly liberated areas, scorched fields were all that remained when the people returned to their homes. Not a house had been left standing, let alone schools or hospitals, and there was a serious threat of famine. After a year of intensive work, the people's food supplies are now almost adequate. For areas plagued by endemic starvation over the past years like Eastern Nam Bo, the southernmost part

of Trung Bo and the High Plateaux, this is indeed a great achievement, and women have made a big contribution to it.

The National Front for Liberation the P.R.G. have taken good care of the lives of the people, especially of the women and children. At present, in Binh Phuoc province, one person out of every seven is attending school. In Quang Tri, there is a pupil for every four inhabitants. In dozens of villages all the women have learned to read and write. This is the case in a village inhabited by people of the Van Kieu minority in Thua Thien province and in Phuoc Chien village, which is inhabited by people of the Rak Lay minority.

Western Nam Bo now has 5,000 medical personnel: doctors, assistant physicians, nurses and midwives. On an average, there is one doctor for every province; an assistant physician, a hospital and a maternity home for every district; and a nurse and a midwife for every village. In Loc Ninh district, where malaria was an endemic disease among rubber plantation workers both under the French and the U.S., 85% of the population have been cured. Everywhere women have joined teams engaged in land reclamation and the filling up of bomb craters. On construction sites, young women make up half to two thirds of the brigades that are busy repairing roads and bridges to ensure communications in the liberated zone. Our sisters have also built houses, schools and medical stations. In towns and townships, a number of factories have resumed production and handicraft workshops are being built as a

matter of urgency. Rubber plantations have resumed normal operations, and ports are being repaired.

Life is again blossoming in the liberated areas: the people are enthusiastically working to heal the wounds of war and develop the economy, and the merry laughter and songs of children can be heard once more.

To show their gratitude to the combatants who are seflessly fighting against the enemy's land-grabbing and pacification operations to defend the liberated zone, women are devoting all their energies to the "Let the whole people support the army" movement. True to the traditions of the hard years when the land was destroyed either by toxic chemicals or bombs and shells, women in the "Association of Combatants' Mothers" have accepted new privations, and have even donated their earnings to funds in support of the army. They have organized the movement known as the "Pot of Rice to Feed the Army and Wounded Fighters" and they console the families of war dead and take care of war orphans. Our sisters have also organized mutual aid teams to help the families of combatants who lack farmhands.

Returning to their native lands after long years of devasting war and pacification operations, South Vietnamese women are very eager to build and consolidate the liberated zone, and to make it appeal to the whole of South Viet Nam. Of course, life is still full of privations and hardships. The obdurate Saigon puppet administration still conducts continual land-grabbing operations. However, in the liberated zone, women have now become masters of their own

destiny and are making full use of their abilities to restore production and ensure sufficient supplies of food and clothing. Here. oppression and exploitation have become things of the past and women enjoy equality with men in all fields.

Dear delegates,

The achievements recorded by South Vietnamese women have a lot to do with the Women's Union for Liberation. the sole political organization of South Vietnamese women. The Union has a constitution and organization network that extends from the central down to the village and hamlet level.

It is a centre that is able to rally all patriotic and peace-loving women in the South. It organizes, educates and guides women in the persistent struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration on both fronts, political and military. It came into existence on March 8, 1961, in the storm of the Concerted Uprising, and grew at the same quick pace as the South Vietnamese revolution.

It has millions of members living in all areas of the highlands, the plains, and the towns and cities, in the liberated zone, the contested areas and also in the Saigon controlled areas. The first Congress, held from March 8 to 12, 1965, adopted the Union's Programme of Action, and its new Constitution, and elected the Central Executive Committee, comprising 35 members. The Union has launched a "Five Goods" movement against U.S. aggression for national salvation, which has elicited a warm response from all Union members.

The Union's cadres are chosen from among women workers, peasants and labourers in towns and cities, private and public employees, small traders, students, women renowned for their patriotism, adherents to various religions, and women of various nationalities. They are in constant and close contact with the masses of women. Even during the fiercest pacification drives in rural areas they remained closely in touch with women, working with them and sharing their hardships and privations, helping them in difficult times, exposing the schemes of the enemy, arousing their patriotism and hatred of the aggressors and the traitors, and organizing and guiding their struggle. In the enemy-controlled areas, even in the towns and cities, and in strategic hamlets, the Union's cadres are shock fighters. They maintain close contact with the masses of women and struggle with them to defend their vital interests and their dignity and to demand that the enemy scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement.

Many Union cadres who fell into enemy hands fought until their last breath — for example, Lê Thi Rieng, Vice-President of the Union's Central Executive Committee, who laid down her life in the spring of the year Mau Than. Thousands of cadres of the Union who are still detained in U.S.-puppet prisons are continuing the fight to defend the revolutionary ideal and their political liberties.

The Women's Union for Liberation is a member organization of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation with great prestige, and a pillar of the PRG of the South Viet Nam National Front for

Liberation. It is ensuring the implementation by millions of women of the policies of the Front and the instructions of the P.R.G. As well, it faithfully reports to the Front and the PRG the urgent requirements and aspirations of women from all walks of life from the highlands, the rural areas in the plains, and from the towns and cities.

The PRG and the Front highly value the contributions of the South Vietnamese women's movement. As well as the title "Heroic, Dauntless, Loyal and Enterprising" conferred on it at the First Congress of South Vietnamese women, the women's movement has also been awarded the "Brass Wall Order", First Class. A large number of outstanding cadres of the Union have been proclaimed heroines, "Valiant fighters against the U.S." or "Determined to Win" combatants. Thousands of others have been awarded Liberation Orders or Certificates of Merit for their achievements in political struggle. More than ten thousand Union members have had conferred upon them the title of "the Five Goods".

Dear delegates,

The patriotic resistance of the men and women of South Viet Nam against U.S. aggression, has enjoyed warm, vigorous and broad approval and support from progressive men and women throughout the world.

Straight after its founding, the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation was admitted as a full member to the Women's International Democratic Federation, which comprises hundreds of mil-

lions of members in 97 countries; for many years now, it has been at the centre of the support activities of the Federation. Over the past 13 years, it has sent many delegations to attend international, regional and national congresses and conferences, and to make friendship visits to socialist, nationalist and capitalist countries to express the profound and sincere gratitude of the South Vietnamese women for the warm support of our friends in all continents. At the same time, the South Vietnamese women's delegations have reported on the hardships endured by women in South Viet Nam, denounced the barbarous crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, voiced the South Vietnamese women's aspirations for peace and independence and give accounts of the exploits of the many heroines, valiant fighters, and courageous mothers in South Viet Nam.

Our sisters in the socialist, the Asian, African, and Latin American and the capitalist countries have always extended to the women and men of South Viet Nam their deep understanding, warm support, and valued assistance.

Having been subjected to the same colonialist domination for more than one hundred years, the women of Laos and Cambodia fought shoulder to shoulder with Vietnamese women against the French colonialists, and are now even more closely united with us in the fight against the U.S. imperialists.

In the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries which conducted arduous fights against, and won glorious victories over, fascist aggressors

and domestic reactionaries, women have worked extra hours in factories and in the fields to turn out more products for Viet Nam. It would not be possible to enumerate all the "Gifts from the heart" the hand-made woollen blankets, the bandages and foodstuffs bought with the savings of women and sent to the South Viet Nam battlefields...

Women in Algeria, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, etc, have held many meetings and staged demonstrations to urge the U.S. government to end its war of aggression in Viet Nam.

Women in Western European countries, such as France, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Britain; West Germany ; Norway and Denmark, have worked tirelessly in the movements for blood donations and in organizing fasts, vigils, demonstrations and collections of signatures in condemnation of the U.S. government's war crimes and to urge their own governments not to tail after the U.S.A. Women workers in France, fn spite of an icy cold, got up very early in the morning to pick flowers and sell them in support of Viet Nam. Italian mothers knocked at hundreds of doors on snow-covered mountains in order to collect signatures in protest against the U.S. imperialists' aggression in South Viet Nam.

Progressive women in the United States and the countries which sided with it waged persistent struggles to urge their governments to put an end to the war of aggression and bring home their husbands and sons who had been sent to South Viet Nam.

Japanese women courageously sat on railway tracks to block trains carrying armaments for the U.S. expeditionary corps, or picketed U.S military bases built in their country.

Millions of women in all countries, from the freezing Scandinavian countries to the scorched deserts of Africa, and in countries of the Western Hemisphere and Latin America, including white-haired, old ladies, prampushing mothers and teen-agers, in defiance of sun, rain, icy winds or snow storms, and of repression or imprisonment, staged demonstrations in support of Viet Nam. These worthy gestures and this wholehearted support from our friends around the world have given us added strength and encouraged us to carry on the fight with enthusiasm.

After the Paris Agreement was signed, our sisters and friends from all corners of the world sent messages and letters to hail the great victory of the Vietnamese people and commend the South Vietnamese women and people.

In response to the calculated and systematic acts of sabotage perpetrated by the U.S.-aided Saigon administration, we have received many letters, messages and statements from the Women's International Democratic Federation, and from women in socialist, nationalist and capitalist countries, strongly condemning the Saigon administration for its unceasing land-grabbing operations, its torturing and secret murdering of political prisoners and its bombing of the liberated zone.

In France, Italy, Switzerland, West Germany, Canada, Belgium, etc., women have formed committees to urge the U.S. government and the Saigon administration to scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement, to release all political prisoners, and to observe the ceasefire... They have also organized fund-raising campaigns to buy materials for the building of creches, schools and hospitals for Viet Nam.

From the rostrum of this Congress, allow us to express on behalf of the Central Executive Committee of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation and all South Vietnamese women our sincere thanks to the Women's International Democratic Federation, and to all the peace and justice-loving women of the world, for this precious support. We wish the delegates of the WIDF, the Pan-African Women's Union, the Committee for Asian-African Solidarity, the women's organizations of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, and of the nationalist and capitalist countries attending the Fourth Congress of Vietnamese women, good health and even greater successes in the struggle for peace, independence, democracy, social progress and the liberation of women.

Dear delegates,

During the protracted war of resistance by all our people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the South Vietnamese women's movement has matured rapidly, and our country has won an epochal, historic victory. However, our

enemy is still very stubborn. The U.S. imperialists have not yet renounced their neo-colonialist designs on South Viet Nam. The Nguyen Van Thiêu clique, aided and abetted by the U.S.A. is making every attempt to sabotage the Paris Agreement, and impudently pursuing land-grabing and "pacification" operations.

In spite of the difficulties that still lie ahead, the South Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle is entering a new period with very favourable conditions. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese women, in close union with the other sections of the people, are resolutely defending and consolidating the liberated zone and stepping up political and military struggle so as to compel the other side to scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement.

In the light of the Resolutions of the 22nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Worker's Party, the Fourth Congress of Vietnamese women will work out directives to give the women's movement in North Viet Nam new vigour in the emulation drives to promote production, to work with application and thrift for the building of socialism and to build the socialist North into a solid rear-area backing the revolutionary struggle of its 17 million brothers and sisters in the South.

Our sisters, whether in the North or in the South, are members of the same family and citizens of the same country.

"Viet Nam is one,

The Vietnamese nation is one.

Rivers may dry up, mountains may wear away,

but this truth will never change"

The conditions of our struggle differ, but our lofty objectives are the same: to complete the national democratic revolution in the South, to build socialism in the North and to proceed to the reunification of Viet Nam, our beloved fatherland.

It is our unshakable conviction that, bearing deeply in mind the immense services rendered by the respected and beloved President HO CHI MINH, who led our nation from victory to victory, desiring to be worthy of the boundles sacrifices made by the beloved people and women in the North, and inspired by the brilliant achievements of the "Three responsibilities" movement, the South Vietnamese women will overcome all obstacles and hardships and, following in the footsteps of their dear elder sisters, will accomplish the last wish of President HO CHI MINH:

"Our country will be reunified,

Our countrymen in the North and the South

will be united under the same roof"

With great enthusiasm, we once again wish the Congress every success.

RESOLUTION

The Fourth National Congress of Vietnamese Women fully endorses the report presented by the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union. It unanimously resolves the following:

Since the Third National Congress of Vietnamese Women, under the correct leadership of the glorious Viet Nam Workers' Party and our respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause has recorded great victories. Imbued with President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that "Nothing is more precious than Independence and Freedom", our people in both zones of the country, bringing into full play revolutionary heroism, unity, struggle and selflessness, defeated the US imperialists' extremely brutal war of aggression and compelled the U.S. and the Saigon administration to sigh the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Their actions were based on their respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and their belief in the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. This is a historic and epoch-making victory.

In the light of the Party's line on the mobilization of women, educated, organized and guided by the Viet Nam Women's Union, and with the assistance of various levels, branches and public offices of the

State, the women's movement of "Three Responsibilities" in the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, and in socialist construction has mobilized all strata of women to promote their potential in all fields, with a view to recording brilliant achievements and thereby making a worthy contribution to the glorious victory of the nation. Vietnamese women have made innumerable sacrifices, encouraged their husbands, sons, brothers and relatives to fight the aggressors to defend the Fatherland, done their duty to their country, seen that household chores were attended to, brought up children, arduously engaged in production and in social activities, staunchly supported the struggle and directly fought against the enemy. And through these activities, they have rapidly grown to maturity. From this broad and strong movement there has emerged a contingent of women cadres working in all the different branches and embodying the right of women to equality with men in matters of management of the economy and the State. Through the eight years of the U.S. war of destruction against North Viet Nam, Vietnamese women have increasingly proved their sound political sense and absolute confidence in the Viet Nam Workers' Party, their readiness to do whatever work is necessary in the interests of the Fatherland and socialism, their spirit of self-reliance, enthusiasm and creativity in work, ability to assimilate science and techniques, and their generosity, loyalty. The Vietnamese women have become a social productive force of prime importance, that actively participates in the collective

mastery of the country and made successful contributions to all revolutionary tasks.

The Viet Nam Women's Union together with various other branches, has prepared and proposed to the Party and Government many motions, policies and concrete measures aimed at creating favourable conditions for the education, training and higher education of women workers and cadres, developing collective welfare services, looking after women's and children's health and living conditions, and defending the rights of women and children in the family and in society. They have thus managed to bring the cause of the emancipation of women to a new stage.

Many worthy achievements and historic changes have occurred in the women's movement in our country over the past period. Vietnamese women are fully entitled to the words of praise conferred on them by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Worker's Party and President Ho Chi Minh: "Vietnamese women are valiant and able in the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation". The Congress has the great honour of representing all the Vietnamese women to receive the Ho Chi Minh Order, Second Class, a precious prize awarded by the Party and Government in appreciation of Vietnamese women's great contribution and the outstanding achievements of the Viet Nam Women's Union.

The great successes of the women's movement are the outcome of the correct revolutionary line of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and their line on the mobilization of women, the superiority of the socialist

regime in North Viet Nam, the concern shown by various State bodies and mass organizations, and the activities of the Viet Nam Women's Union and women cadres in the various branches.

In spite of its unprecedented growth, the women's movement has some weak points that must be corrected. Awareness of all that is involved in collective mastery, and cultural and professional levels of women, have not yet met the revolutionary requirements; and the working and living conditions of women and children are still inadequate. The guiding principle and line concerning the mobilization women have not been fully grasped by all levels of the Union and all branches. The Union's functions and spheres of activity in connection with a number of tasks have not been clearly defined. The qualifications of the Union's cadres are still not adequate. Leadership by the Union is not yet concretely and closely effected. The development of concrete forms of action remains a difficult problem; and the coordination with various branches and other mass organizations is not yet close.

The great victory of the patriotic resistance against U.S. aggression has brought the Vietnamese revolution to a new stage. The U.S. imperialists have had to end their direct war in Viet Nam and withdraw from South Viet Nam all U.S. troops and those of other foreign countries, but they have stubbornly refused to end their involvement in Viet Nam. They have continued to commit grave violations of many basic provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and to help the Saigon administration carry

out its bellicose and fascist policy and the U.S. scheme to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam and permanent partition on our country.

The resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Viet Nam new stage : *"Unite the entire people, struggle to preserve peace, strive to carry out socialist industrialisation, step up the three revolutions, take North Viet Nam rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism, closely combine economic construction with national defence, be ever vigilant, stand ready to defeat all schemes and manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, strive to fulfil our obligations in the revolutionary struggle to complete independence and democracy in the South and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country, and to fulfil our international obligations to the revolutions in Laos and Cambodia !"*

In the years 1974-1975, the task of the North is : *"To rapidly heal the wounds of war, to endeavour to restore and develop the economy and culture, to continue to build up the material and technical foundations of socialism, to consolidate socialist relations and socialist regime in all fields, to stabilise the economy and the people's living conditions, to strengthen national defence, to strive to assist our compatriots in the South in their revolutionary struggle and in their construction of the liberated zone »*.

To promote the fulfilment of these tasks, the Party, National Assembly and Government have launched a "labour emulation movement to produce and economise so as to build socialism".

Women constitute a major part of the workforce and play a very important role in the three revolutions, in the emulation movement for productive labour and in the contribution to the revolutionary cause of South Viet Nam. At the same time, they have a very important role to play in the organization of family life, the upbringing of children and the creation of the new woman and a new life.

The abovementioned great revolutionary tasks require that all women energetically strive to become ideologically aware, to grasp each new situation and to continue to step up the cause of emancipating women. One of the major tasks at present in the emancipation of women is the fight against poverty and against backward attitudes towards women. It is also necessary to raise women's level in all respects. to promote in appropriate ways their participation in social management and production and to lighten their family work by organizing a more rational way of life. Only if the three revolutions are stepped up and largescale socialist production takes the place of smallscale production can we create favourable conditions for the solving of the abovementioned problems and ensure full participation by women in collective mastery in its three aspects — master of society, master of nature and master of oneself, and thus proceed to the complete emancipation of women. In order to carry out the general task and promote the cause of women's emancipation, all Vietnamese women are determined to continue to further the "Three Responsibilities" movement and change its content in accordance with the following

motto: "To carry out well one's duty to the country, to see that household chores are attended to, to strive to achieve equality between men and women".

The continued promotion of the cause of women's emancipation, so as to create favourable conditions for women to develop their participation in collective mastery and make an ever greater contribution to the building of socialism, is not only the responsibility of the Viet Nam Women's Union but also that of all branches and levels — in other words, it is the common responsibility of society at large. All levels of the Union must approach State bodies, i. e., those exercising authority over the masses, to further develop their functions with regard to the cause of women's emancipation and ensure the protection of women's rights as prescribed by law.

Being a broad mass organization acting under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and representing Vietnamese women's interests and aspirations, the Viet Nam Women's Union has the task of uniting, educating, mobilizing and organizing all Vietnamese women to actively struggle for socialist revolution and socialist building, for the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country, for the emancipation of women and for real equality between the sexes.

The task of the Viet Nam Women's Union in the new stage is as follows: *"To unite and educate all strata of women, strengthen patriotism and socialist consciousness, promote efforts to achieve equality between the sexes, encourage the development of revolutionary heroism, continue to give impetus to*

the "Three Responsibilities" movement with its new content, participate in the labour emulation movement, guide and help women organize their family life and bring up their children well; together with the rest of the people throughout the country, to struggle for the scrupulous implementation of the Paris agreement; to complete the national democratic revolution in South Viet Nam, advance to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland; to strengthen militant solidarity with the women of Laos and Cambodia, solidarity and friendship with women of other countries, and struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism"

I. TO MOULD THE SOCIALIST WOMAN TO CARRY OUT WELL HER DUTY TO COUNTRY, SOCIETY AND FAMILY

The moulding of the new socialist woman is the fundamental task of the Viet Nam Women's Union. The Union must educate women to develop the tradition of patriotism, to raise socialist consciousness, to endeavour to achieve equality between men and women to thoroughly comprehend the close relationship between the building of socialism and the emancipation of women, and to fully realize the responsibilities of women to the Fatherland, society and family. On this basis, it must encourage women to actively participate in the labour emulation movement to produce and economise to build socialism and to be ever vigilant and stand ready, together

with the entire people, to smash all manoeuvres of sabotage by the US imperialists and their henchmen. The Union must also help women train themselves in the working class ideology of collective mastery, struggle to eliminate the legacy of non-proletarian ideas and the vices and bad habits of the old society, do away with the mentality and habits of small production and get rid of self-satisfaction, inferiority complexes, dependence on others, narrow mindedness, etc.

The Union should also :

— educate women to become self-reliant and determined to raise their cultural, professional, scientific, technical and economic management levels.

— educate mothers to realise their great responsibilities in the ideological and cultural revolution and in the formation of future generations, show them how to bring up children according to scientific methods and encourage them to set good examples to their children in the family and in society.

— educate young girls to form correct conceptions of life, love and family, help them to organize a new life and pay special attention to female students at universities, colleges, vocational secondary schools and senior high schools.

As well as working out how the socialist woman should be educated and moulded, the Union should see to it that she is given practice in struggle and is trained to participate effectively in the labour emulation movement and in the rationalisation of the relations in production. It should try to improve

— helping women to fully realize that social productive labour is the highest obligation and in the interests of every citizen — and particularly of women, as it is a basic condition for establishing equality between the sexes; mobilizing women to work conscientiously and efficiently, applying discipline and technology; encouraging them to fulfil the economic and technical requirements laid down by the managerial bodies;

— mobilizing women to participate in collective mastery and in consolidating the socialist relations of production and to actively struggle against any offences against State and collective property or any unlawful acts; on the basis of the principles contained in the Union's constitution concerning the organization and activities of the Government Council, organizing the collection of suggestions by women so as to inform the Government Council and various administrative bodies about shortcomings and erroneous acts, advancing proposals on the improvement, of economic management, opposing bureaucracy and organizing control and supervision by the masses within the framework of State laws;

— in cooperation with other mass organizations and various bodies of the State, supervising and controlling the application of existing policies and regulations relating to women workers and studying and proposing policies and measures which will create conditions for effective production and work, especially in newly developed regions and mountainous areas. Particular attention must be paid to how women workers are employed, to their education

and training, to their protection, to social insurance, improvement of working equipment and conditions, and to the just and reasonable settlement of all matters in connection with work, including salaries and bonuses for women workers.

Although the Union is not directly responsible for economic and technical guidance, at all levels it must have the necessary economic and technical knowledge to closely follow the activities of the bases of production in order to coordinate the education and mobilization of women with the economic and technical task of each branch. In cooperation with the appropriate branches, the Union periodically examines urgent problems thoroughly, with a view to controlling, supervising and advancing practical policies and measures.

III. TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS STATE BODIES AND MASS ORGANISATIONS, TO TAKE CARE OF THE INTERESTS, LIVELIHOOD AND HEALTH OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND ENSURE THE EFFECTIVE ORGANISATION OF THE FAMILY

Meeting the urgent requirements of health protection, housing, food, organization of family life, upbringing of children, etc, is very important for the building of a socialist society and for ensuring and happy lives for all. And the fulfilment of these requirements is closely connected with the realization of the task of economic rehabilitation and develop-

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ment assigned by the Party and Government to many branches. As it represents women's interests and aspirations, the Union must take the initiative, in cooperating with various State bodies, the members of the Fatherland Front, especially the Trade Unions and the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, so as to do its utmost to create favourable conditions for women to fulfil their duties to society and family. The Union encourages women to strictly implement the policies and regulations of the Party and State laws and to see that others do likewise, to increase their self-reliance, to help one another, to organize their lives in a thrifty and sensible way, so as to contribute, together with the State, to the overcoming of common difficulties.

Now, and in the years to come, the Union, on its own initiative, will help advise State bodies and other mass organizations on the following imperative questions:

— Care of the families of war dead, war invalids and armymen, of orphans, women maimed or invalided in the war, army women and young women of shock youth brigades whose term of service is over; maintaining close contacts with them, educating and encouraging them, recommending their employment to various branches, helping them to stabilise their their livelihood and raise their qualifications in all fields.

— encouraging women to take an active interest in hygiene, family planning and contraception, and to bring up their children according to scientific methods; urging women to actively promote and to

make good use of all public welfare establishments and the public health network; consolidating and developing in coordination with all other branches, creches and kindergartens of various kinds; recommending to the appropriate bodies concrete measures for developing and raising the quality of collective canteens and public servicing teams in various streets, and for improving the distribution of consumer goods.

— So that they can lead happy and successful family lives, it is necessary to guide women in the creation of the socialist family in which husband and wife love and care for each other, assist each other to progress, encourage each other to accomplish their duty to society and jointly carry out household chores and the rearing of their children in conformity with the demands of the new society. Women must also be helped to organize their family affairs in a scientific way, to lead lives that conform with the general situation in the country, to create conditions for everybody to discharge, in the best possible manner, their responsibilities to society, to do away with all backward customs and habits in daily life, including funeral and wedding customs and to eliminate superstitions, etc. In coordination with various other bodies, the Union should encourage and educate everyone to respect the law on marriage and the family and to oppose and criticise any violation of the law, control the implementation of the law, and study amendments to the law whenever necessary.

IV. TO FULFIL OUR OBLIGATIONS TO OUR KITH AND KIN IN THE SOUTH AND, TOGETHER WITH ALL STRATA OF THE POPULATION, TO STRIVE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH VIET NAM, AND PROCEED TO THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

The Union must imbue women with a deep sense of responsibility and strong feelings for the revolution in South Viet Nam. This will be reflected in the building up of North Viet Nam into a country which is strong and firm in every aspect. We must urge women to continue to encourage their husbands and sons to build up the forces of national defence so as to defend the Fatherland, preserve peace and oppose all actions and schemes of the US imperialists aimed at imposing neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam and sabotaging North Viet Nam.

Women in North Viet Nam should launch campaigns with concrete slogans and back up the struggle by their compatriots in South Viet Nam against the violations of the Paris Agreement by the United States and the Saigon administration; they should support the struggle by women in the Saigon-controlled areas for freedom, democracy national concord and better living conditions, and promote various concrete forms of brotherhood between North and South Viet Nam. Relations between the women of North and South Viet Nam should be consolidated with a view to assisting the women's movement to

build up the liberated zone and to exchanging experiences on cultural and social activaties, on the mobilization of women, on taking care of the health and lives of women and children and on training and raising the qualifications of women cadres...

V. TO STRENGTHEN SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP WITH WOMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES AND STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM AND THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN :

We must intensify our international activities and win the active support of the women of the world in the struggle to make the U.S. and the Saigon administration strictly and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and to heal the wounds of war, build the economy and strengthen the country's potential.

We must strengthen the militant solidarity between the women of the three Indochinese countries, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, so as to defend independence and national sovereignty and make each country prosperous.

We must strive to promote and develop the solidarity and friendship that exists with the women of socialist and other countries; support the women's movements of the Asian, African and Latin American countries struggling for national independence and social progress, against US-led imperialism,

against colonialism, old and new, against racial minority regimes and other reactionary forces, henchmen of imperialism; and support the struggle against monopoly capitalism for better living conditions and democracy in the capitalist countries.

As a member of the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Viet Nam Women's Union plays an active part in the movement of the women of the world who honour peace, freedom and justice in the struggle for a lasting peace, for the independence of all nations, and for the happiness of women and children all over the world.

VI. TO CONSOLIDATE THE UNION'S ORGANIZATION, ENDEAVOUR TO EDUCATE AND RAISE THE QUALIFICATIONS OF WOMEN CADRES, EFFECTIVELY CHANGE THE LEADERSHIP WORK AND METHODS OF ACTION OF THE UNION:

In order for the Union to carry out its functions, all its activities must be aimed at promoting and organizing a strong mass movement and mobilizing all women to strive to discharge their responsibilities to the Fatherland, the society and the family.

The Union should consolidate organization and effectively change its leadership work and methods of action.

The executive committees of the Union at all levels must represent all strata of working women, whether in production or in other branches. They

must be consolidated in order to work effectively, and they must proceed to a rational organization of the working machinery. They must give concrete guidance on women's activities at Union branch level, work out plans for training and raising the qualifications of Union cadres in every aspect, and place them and particularly young cadres, in appropriate jobs. The Union's cadres must have a firm political stand and revolutionary spirit, must thoroughly grasp the Party's line and policies and the State law and have the capacity of organizing and mobilizing the masses. They must possess a certain amount of knowledge of economic management, science and technology. The Union must seek to understand the opinions and aspirations of women cadres in the various branches and, together with other leading bodies, map out plans for raising their qualifications and help them in their work in general and in the work of mobilizing women in particular.

The Union has to coordinate its vertical leadership work with its horizontal one, thus consolidating its organizational system from central level downwards and rendering it able to grasp the views and aspirations of the masses, to know how to study, discern problems and put forward to branches proposals relating to women and children, and to work out concrete and effective measures aimed at educating, mobilizing and creating favourable conditions for women to fulfil their duty to society and family.

The Union's activities must be practical. When mapping out policies, the Union must also work out ways of organizing and guiding its activities, tho-

roughly study each objective and each region, and sum up past work and draw experiences from it. In each period, the Union must resolutely concentrate its leadership work on a number of key tasks and eradicate vague and ineffective methods of work.

So as to cooperate well with other mass organizations and various bodies of the State, the Union should understand the requirements and aspirations of women and fully grasp the Party and the State's line and policies. The Union should appoint cadres and the relevant branches to follow each particular problem through. With the cooperation of women cadres working in the various branches, it should study and map out solutions to problems relating to women and children, as well as appropriate methods and forms of mobilisation. It must organize joint meetings with individual branches so as to discuss concretely programmes of coordinated activities and the scope of responsibility as between the Union and the various branches.

The Union cooperates with the trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union to educate and care for the interests and living conditions of women workers, office workers, young people and to enhance the role of women workers as mainstay and the role of youth as shock force in the women's movement.

The Union should act as an assistant to the Party, present to it urgent problems in connection with the mobilization of women, help it to thoroughly disseminate the line on the mobilization of women to the Party's committees at all levels and to all branches

and State bodies, and struggle against all vestiges of the non-proletarian attitude of refusing to honour women's right to participate in collective mastery.

Although our people's revolutionary cause still has to undergo a protracted and hard struggle, its prospects are good and it will certainly win total victory.

In the light of the resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese women's movement has emerged through many trials, and will certainly advance rapidly and steadily and further contribute to the common revolutionary cause of the nation and to the well-being of the whole people.

The Congress believes that, under the close leadership of the Party's Central Committee, the Party's committees at all levels, the State bodies and the different mass organizations will concentrate more and more on creating conditions for the Union at its different levels to steadily develop its activities according to its assigned functions and tasks.

In the glorious revolutionary movement of the whole country, and in concert with the emulation movement for productive labour to build socialism with industry and thrift, let all of us women enthusiastically carry out the slogan: "To carry out well one's duty to the country, ensure that household chores are performed, and strive to achieve equality between the sexes".

Let all women workers work as hard as possible in their emulation drive for productive labour with discipline, technique and high productivity.

Let all women peasants endeavour to fulfil all production plans, bring into full play the spirit of collective mastery and participate in the consolidation of cooperatives.

Let all women intellectuals uphold their zeal for continuous progress and strive to apply advanced cultural and scientific achievements to the reality of production and to the lives of our people.

Let all women in various administrative and professional branches and welfare services demonstrate their sense of responsibility and rationalise organization and working methods so as to constantly increase their efficiency and improve their service.

Let all women working in other branches conscientiously carry out their duty, and effectively apply all the policies of the Party and the State.

Let all young women and men, with their warm and youthful qualities, stand in the van of all labour movements, in work, study and in the building of a new life.

Let all Vietnamese women residing in foreign countries constantly look towards the beloved Fatherland and strive to contribute to socialist construction in North Viet Nam, the struggle for independence and democracy in South Viet Nam and the eventual peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Let all women enthusiastically and effectively carry out their duty as citizens and mothers and make outstanding contributions to the revolutionary cause in the new stage in order to bring prosperity to the country, well-being to the family and happiness to our children.

PRINTED IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM